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CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM

FROM

THE FOURTH TO THE NINTH CENTURIES
OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

BY

I. GREGORY SMITH, M.A., HON. LL.D. EDIN.

AUTHOR OF
"ARISTOTELIANISM" (THE ETHICS),
"CHARACTERISTICS OF CHRISTIAN MORALITY," ETC. ETC.

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PREFACE.

THIS attempt to portray Christian Monasticism in its earliest phases is the result of the labours of many years. It consists mainly of essays contributed by me to the Dictionaries of Christian Biography and Christian Antiquities, revised and re-arranged with the kind permission of Mr. Murray. Wherever, as in the lives of Columba and Columban, I have condensed the materials supplied by other writers, I have acknowledged the obligation in its place.

I am conscious of many defects in the book; but it may serve to stimulate others, more competent, in this direction. The subject, though fascinating, has scarcely received, at least in England, all the attention which it deserves. Now that the question of Brotherhoods is forcing itself practically on the consideration of the Church in this land, it is more than ever necessary to learn what we can from the experience of the past, to disentangle the good from the evil, and to discriminate between the cœnobitic life, as an extraordinary remedy for extraordinary evils, and as the normal life of saints. There is need of incessant watchfulness against the corrosive influences which have tarnished the pure gold of evangelic self-sacrifice in the history of Monasticism,—impatience of episcopal control, want of consideration for the parochial clergy, and above all, proneness to slip down from a too sublime ideal into a mechanical routine. Nor may it ever be forgotten, that just as "the cowl does not make the monk," so it is possible to find all that is to be revered in the true monk, his zeal, his courage, his self-devotion, outside the narrow limits of the cloister.

I am indebted to the Rev. G. W. Sandford, M.A., and A. E. Quekett, Esq., M.A., for the Indices, for verifying references, and for help in correcting for the press and in other ways.

I. G. S.

ERRATA.

p. 43, *for* Radegunda *read* Radegundis
p. 58, *for* Luxenil *read* Luxeuil

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ERRATA.

Page 100, line 7, *for* Chaledon *read* Chalcedon.

Page 137, line 8, *for* institutions *read* institution.

Page 211, line 20, *for* oblati *read* oblatus.

CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM.

INTRODUCTION.

THE history of monasticism is one of the strangest problems in the history of the world. For monasticism ranks among the most powerful influences which have shaped the destinies of Christendom and of civilization; and the attempt to analyze it is more than usually difficult, because the good and the evil in it are blended together almost inextricably. To those who contemplate it from a distance, wrapped in a romantic haze of glory, it may appear a sublime and heroic effort after superhuman excellence. To others, approaching it more nearly and examining it more dispassionately, it seems essentially faulty in principle, though accidentally productive of good results at certain times and under certain conditions. They regard the blemishes, which from the first marred the beauty of its heavenward aspirations, as well as the more glaring vices of its later phases, as inseparable from its very being. To them it is not so much a thing excellent in itself, though sometimes perverted, as a radical mistake from the first, though provoked into existence by circumstances; not an aiming too high, but an aiming in the wrong direction. By declaring "war against nature," to use the phrase of one of its panegyrists,[1] it is, in their eyes, virtually "fighting against God." In their judgment it degrades man into a machine. In their estimation the monk shunning the conflict with the world is not simply deserting his post, but courting temptations of another kind quite as perilous to his well-being. In brief, far from being an integral and essential part of Christianity, it is in their estimation a morbid excrescence. What proportion of truth is in each of these conflicting theories, a careful study of the facts, so far as they can be ascertained from history, may help to determine.

The origin of monasticism has sometimes been imputed to a growing indifference to faith in the Atonement;[2] but it would be easy to cite passages from Augustine and other panegyrists of monks conclusive against this notion, as inadequate, if not altogether groundless. Rather, the origin of the monastic life is to be found partly in the traditions of the East, partly in the teaching of the schools of Alexandria, partly in the social state of the world external to Christianity. The luxury and the profligacy of the Roman Empire, even more than its outbursts of persecuting fury, alienated the most earnest disciples of the Cross from taking their part in things around them, and drove them far from the haunts of men, inflamed by the passionate longing of the Psalmist for "the wings of a dove," that they might "fly away into the wilderness and be at rest." The causes at work were many and complex. To the timid and indolent the monastery was a refuge from the storms of life; it was a prop and a defence against themselves to the weak and wavering; to the fanatic it was a short and speedy way to heaven; to the ambitious (for the haughtiness, which was its especial bane in later days, soon intruded into the cell) it was a pedestal from which to look down on the rest of mankind; to men of nobler temperament it seemed the only way to obey what have been called "the counsels of perfection." [1]

---

[1] Montalembert.

[2] Hospinian *De Orig. Monachatûs, Ep. Dedic.*

Monasticism was not the product of Christianity; it was the inheritance of the Church, not its invention; not the offspring, but the adopted child. The old antagonism between mind and matter, flesh and spirit, self and the world has asserted itself in all ages, especially among the nations of the East. The Essenes, the Therapeutæ, and other oriental mystics, were as truly the precursors of Christian asceticism in the desert or in the cloister, as Elijah and St. John the Baptist. The Neoplatonism of Alexandria, extolling the passionless man above him who regulates his passions, sanctioned and systematized this craving after a life of utter abstraction from external things, this abhorrence of all contact with what is material as a defilement. Doubtless the cherished remembrance of the martyrs and confessors, who in the preceding centuries of the Christian era had triumphed over many a sanguinary persecution, gave a fresh impulse in the fourth century to this propensity to asceticism, stimulating the devout to vie with their forefathers in the faith by their voluntary endurance of self-inflicted austerities.

---

[1] Chrysost. *Adv. Opp. Vit. Mon.* I. vii. et pass. Socrat. *H. E.* IV. xxiii. Sozom. *H. E.* I. xii.—xv. III. xiv. VI. xxviii.—xxxiv. Cf. *Characteristics of Christian Morality*, p. 39 (2nd ed.).

Some of the various terms, used by early Christian writers for the monastic life, show how it was commonly regarded, and illustrate its twofold origin. The monks are frequently termed "the philosophers," and the monastery their "school of thought,"[1] as if they were the successors and representatives of Greek philosophy; they are termed "the lovers or friends of God," "the servants of God,"[2] as being the lineal descendants of Hebrew prophets and seers. As undergoing a discipline of extraordinary rigour, as inuring themselves to hardships, like good soldiers, stripping themselves of every incumbrance, and drilling themselves for the warfare with Satan, they are called "the renouncers," "the athletes of Christ," and the scene of their self-imposed toils and struggles is their "wrestling-yard" or "gymnasium."[1] They are called endearingly "fathers," by way of affectionate reverence; "suppliants," as giving themselves to prayer;[2] "the angelic," as leading the life of angels; "fellow-travellers;" "dwellers in cells."[3] Their abodes are called "holy places," "seats of government," "sheepfolds."[4] The terms monastery, originally the cell or cave of a solitary, laura, an irregular cluster of cells, and cœnobium, an association of monks, few or many, under one roof and under one control,[5] mark the three earliest stages in the development of monasticism. In Syria and Palestine each monk originally had a separate cell; in Lower Egypt two were together in one cell, whence the term "syncellita," or sharer of the cell, came to express this sort of comradeship; in the Thebaid, under Pachomius of Tabenna, each cell contained three monks.[6] At a later period the monks arrogated to themselves by general consent the title of "the religious," and admission into a monastery was termed "conversion" to God.[7]

---

[1] Φιλοσόφοι. Φροντιστήριον, σχολή.

[2] Φιλοθέοι, θεραπευταί, servi Dei, famuli Dei, &c.

---

[1] Ἀποταξαμένοι, renunciantes. *Παλαίστρα, ἀσκητήριον.*

[2] Nonni, abbates; *ἱκέται.*

[3] Ἰσαγγέλοι, coelicolae; *συνοδῖται,* cellulani.

[4] *Σεμνεῖον, ἡγουμενεῖον, μάνδρα.* [5] Μοναστήριον, λαύρα, κοινόβιον.

[6] Cassian. *Instit.* IV. xvi.; *Collat.* XX. ii. Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* xxxviii. Sozom. *H. E.* III. xiv.

[7] religiosi, Ferreol. *Regula.* Præf. Smaragd. *Vit. Bened. Anian.* lvi.

Passages laudatory of monasticism abound in the Christian writers, both Greek and Latin, in the fourth and fifth centuries. Basil of Neo-Cæsarea, one of the founders of monasticism in Asia, and his friend Gregory of Nazianzum, the learned Jerome in his cell at Bethlehem, and the eloquent Chrysostom in the midst of a noisy populace at Constantinople, profound thinkers and men of action like Augustine of Hippo and Theodoret of Cyprus, all vie with one another in reiterating its praises.[1] The great Augustine is said to have lived in a kind of monastery with the clergy of his cathedral, and by his eulogies of the monastic life in his "Commentary on the thirty-sixth Psalm" to have won Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe, in the sixth century, to become a monk himself. In one enthusiastic passage he expresses a fervent hope, that monasticism may shoot out branches and offshoots all over the world.[2] Jerome goes so far as to speak of embracing the monastic life as a kind of second baptism.[3] And yet, in the writings of those who extolled monasticism most highly, there are cautions and warnings not a few against the dangers which beset it. Augustine, with characteristic insight into the strange contradictions of human nature, describes, almost as a great modern painter has represented it on his canvas, the recoil of a novice on first entering a monastery from the vices and inconsistencies of some among the inmates.[1] Pride was always the besetting sin of the cloister. Ambition and covetousness crept in even among those who had renounced the world; its pomps and vanities,[2] and sensuality, assailed those who had retired, as they hoped, to a safe distance from the temptations of the flesh.[3] The loneliness, the silence of the cell, often brought on that torment of the over-scrupulous, a religious melancholy, and sometimes downright insanity.[4] And though, as a rule, the monks were among the fiercest and loudest champions of orthodoxy, at times, in their ignorance and isolation from the Church at large, they were equally zealous for the extravagant notions of heretical fanatics.[5] Whatever side they espoused, they were the fiercest of partisans. In retaliations on the heathen for the cruelty which they had inflicted on the Church, in putting down heresy by force, in extorting from the civil authorities the pardon of criminals, monks were ever foremost. By the advice of Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople, and in consequence of the tumults in Antioch about Peter the Fuller, Leo the Thracian, in the middle of the fifth century, made an edict forbidding monks to quit their monasteries and excite commotion in cities.[1] The outrages of the Nitrian monks against Orestes, the praefect, in their zeal for Cyril of Alexandria, of Barsumas and his rabble against Flavian of Antioch in the "robber council" of Antioch, and the ferocity which would not leave the saintly Chrysostom in peace, even at the point of death, are no extraordinary instances of what the monks of the fifth century were capable of in their theological frenzies. By a strange, yet not uncommon inconsistency, the monk in his cell listened eagerly for the rumours of polemical controversy in the world which he had abjured, and reserved to himself the right of rushing into the fray, not as peacemaker, but to take part in the combat. They claimed for themselves an authority above that of bishops, emperors, councils. As in the Iconoclastic controversy, so generally they were on the side of superstition. The Egyptian monks clung tenaciously to their anthropomorphic conceptions of the Deity. One of them, an old man named Serapion, exclaimed with tears, on hearing that God is a spirit: "They have taken away our God! We have no God now!"[2] Some monks in Asia Minor inculcated rigid abstinence generally, and condemned marriage as sinful.[2] Antinomianism prevailed among some of the Mesopotamian monks in the fourth century.[1] Augustine speaks of Manichean tendencies among monks.[2]

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[1] Basil. *Constit. Mon.* Gregor. Naz. *Orat.* xii. Chrysost. *Vit. Mon.* Aug. *De Mor. Eccles.* xxxi.; *De Op. Mon.* xxviii. Hieron. Pass. Theod. *Hist. Rel.*

[2] *De Op. Mon.* xxviii.

[3] *Epp.* xxxix. (Ad Paul.).

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[1] *In Ps. C.* cf. Hieron. *Epp.* cxxv. (Ad Rust.); xxii. (Ad Eustoch.).

[2] Hieron. *v.s.* Aug. *Epp.* lx. (Ad Heliodor.).

[3] Hieron. *v.s.*

[4] Hieron. *v.s.* Cassian. *Instit.* V. ix.

[5] Sozom. *H. E.* I. xii.

---

[1] Milman *Hist. Lat. Chr.* I. 294, note.

[2] Cassian. *Collat.* X. iii. Cf. Ruffin. *De Verb. Senior.* xxi.

The history of monasticism, like the history of states and institutions in general, divides itself broadly into three great periods, of growth, of glory, and of decay. Not indeed as if the growth were unchecked by hindrance, the glory undimmed by defects, the decay never arrested by transient revival from time to time of the flickering flame of life. Still the successive seasons of youth, maturity, old age, are marked plainly and strongly.

From the beginning of the fourth century to the close of the fifth, from Antony the hermit to Benedict of Monte Casino, is the age of undisciplined impulse of enthusiasm not as yet regulated by experience. It has all the fervour, and all the extravagance of aims too lofty to be possible, of wild longings without method, without organization, of energies which have not yet learned the practical limits of their own power. Everything is on a scale of illogical exaggeration; is wanting in balance, in proportion, in symmetry. Because purity, unworldliness, charity, are virtues, therefore a woman is to be regarded as a venomous reptile, gold as a worthless pebble; the deadliest foe and the dearest friend are to be esteemed just alike.[3] Because it is right to be humble, therefore the monk cuts off hand, ear, or tongue, to avoid being made bishop,[1] and feigns idiocy, in order not to be accounted wise.[2] Because it is well to teach people to be patient, therefore a sick monk never speaks a kind word for years to the brother monk who nursed him.[3] Because it is right to keep the lips from idle words, therefore a monk holds a large stone in his mouth for three years.[4] Every precept is to be taken literally, and obeyed unreasoningly. Therefore monks who have been plundered by a robber, run after him to give him a something which has escaped his notice.[5] Self-denial is enjoined in the gospel. Therefore the austerities of asceticism are to be simply endless. One ascetic makes his dwelling in a hollow tree, another in a cave, another in a tomb, another on the top of a pillar, another has so lost the very appearance of a man, that he is shot at by shepherds, who mistake him for a wolf.[6] The natural instincts, instead of being trained and cultivated, are to be killed outright, in this abhorrence of things material. Adolius, a hermit near Jerusalem, (it is merely one instance out of many,) is said to have fasted two whole days together ordinarily, and five in Lent, to have passed whole nights on Mount Olivet, in prayer, standing and motionless,[7] and habitually to have slept only the three hours before morning. Dorotheus, an ascetic monk, used to sleep in a sitting posture, and when urged to take his proper rest, would reply: "Persuade the angels to sleep."[1] Cleanliness became a sin, as a kind of self-indulgence. The common duties of life were shunned and neglected, because the end of all such things was near. No wonder, if with no more active occupation than meditation, or twisting osiers into baskets, the soul of the recluse preyed upon itself, and peopled the dreary solitude around it with demons and spectres. No wonder, if in this superhuman effort to burst the barriers of our mortal nature by a protracted suicide, men mistook apathy for self-control, and became like stocks or stones, or brute beasts, while wishing to be as God.

---

[1] Socrat. *H. E.* II. xliii., IV. xxiv.; *Conc. Gangr.* (A.D. 330) i. ii. ix. [2] *De Mor. Ecc.* I. xxxi. [3] Ruffin. *De Vit. SS.* cxvii.

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[1] Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* xii.

[2] Ruffin. *v.s.* cxviii.

[3] Ser. Inc. ap. Rosweyd. *Vitae Patrum.* cxix.

[4] *Ib.* iv.

[5] Mosch. *Prat.* ccxii.

[6] Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* v. Mosch. *Prat.* lxx. Theod. *Philoth.* xv.

[7] Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* civ.

The period which follows, from the first Benedict to Charlemagne, exhibits monasticism in a more mature stage of activity. The social intercourse of the monastery, duly harmonized by a traditional routine, with its subordination of rank and offices, its division of duties, its mutual dependence of all on each other, and on their head, civilized the monastic life; and, as the monk himself became subject to the refining influence of civilization, he went forth into the world to civilize others.

The contemplation of spiritual things was still proposed as the first object in view. But stated and regular hours for the religious services left leisure for other occupations, and brainwork took its proper place alongside of manual labour. The Benedictine rule implied, if it did not assert in so many words, that monks ought to make themselves useful to others as well as to themselves, and the practical result is seen in the conversion of the greater part of Europe to Christianity, and in the revival of European learning and arts among the wild hordes from the north, the conquerors of Rome. Had it not been for monks and monasteries, the barbarian deluge might have swept away utterly the traces of Roman civilization. The Benedictine monk was the pioneer of civilization and Christianity in England, Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Sweden, Denmark.[1] The schools attached to the Lerinensian monasteries were the precursors of the Benedictine seminaries in France and of the professorial chairs filled by learned Benedictines in the universities of mediæval Christendom. With the incessant din of arms around him, it was the monk in his cloister, even in regions beyond the immediate sphere of Benedict's legislation, even in the remote fastnesses, for instance of Mount Athos, who, by preserving and transcribing ancient manuscripts, both Christian and pagan, as well as by recording his observations of contemporaneous events, was handing down the torch of knowledge unquenched to future generations, and hoarding up stores of erudition for the researches of a more enlightened age. The first musicians, painters, farmers, statesmen in Europe, after the downfall of Imperial

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[1] Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* ii.

[1] Mabill. *De Stud. Mon.* I. ix.

Rome under the onslaught of the barbarians, were monks.[1]

In what are called the middle ages, the various monasteries of each order were under the presidency of the monastery originally the seat of the order. This development had not been contemplated by the Rule of Benedict. The abbat of the parent monastery convoked the chapters-general. In the ninth century, the abbat of Monte Casino was nominally, if not actually, supreme over all abbats. In the tenth century, Odo of Clugny was supreme over the abbats of his order of Benedictines. At a later date, among the friars, the cloisters of each province were under the authority of a "provincial," and the whole order under a "general," usually resident in Rome.

How the original monastic idea came in course of time to be lost sight of, as monasteries became wealthy and powerful, how monastic simplicity was corrupted and enervated by luxury, how one monastic order vied with another for worldly aggrandisement, how too often the unfraternal rivalry was embittered by jealousies of the pettiest kind, and how the monastic orders became the janissaries or prætorian cohort of the Papacy, it is beyond our present scope to describe. The difference between Rome under Commodus, and Rome in the days of Cincinnatus, is hardly greater than the difference between a great mediæval monastery, with all its pomp and ostentation of appurtenances, and the conception of a monastery in the rules laid down by the first founders of monasticism. Every new rule, every new order, has been in turn a protest against degeneracy—a spasmodic effort to revert to pristine unworldliness. But the disintegration and the decadence of the monastic idea are due, not exclusively, nor indeed mainly, to causes acting upon it from without, but rather to something within itself, an inherent part of its very being from the beginning. If we look below the surface, and endeavour honestly to analyze the complex elements which, as ever happens in human actions, conspired to result in monasticism, we cannot but observe there, powerfully at work, a very subtle form of selfishness. Fear of ultimate punishment, hope of ultimate recompense, instead of being merely secondary and subsidiary motives, thrust themselves forward as the dominating principle of this apparent self-abnegation, too abnormal, too stupendous to be ever realized on earth, unless by sacrificing at the same time the responsibilities and the privileges which have been providentially constituted an essential part of man's probation. In his fanatical eagerness to secure his own salvation, the devotee abjured the claims of home and country. He "died to the world,"[1] not simply in the sense of mortifying evil affections, but as dead henceforth to the ordinary sympathies of humanity provided by God for man.

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[1] Mabi'l. *De Stud. Mon.* I. iv, vii, viii, ix, xii, xxii.

[1] Gregor. M. *Epp.* I. xliv. Not. Bened.

PART I.

THE GROWTH OF CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIAN ASCETICISM.

THE difficulty of tracing the history of asceticism in the early ages of Christianity arises in part from scantiness of materials, but chiefly from the circumstance that this and the cognate terms have been used in two senses—one general, one specific. These two significations cannot be strictly assigned to different periods, being not infrequently synchronous; nor is it always easy to distinguish one from the other merely by the context. The neglect of this important distinction, and the vehemence of partisanship, have complicated the controversy on the origin and growth of asceticism; some writers contending that ascetics, as an order, are coeval with Christianity, some denying their existence altogether till the fourth century. Neither statement can be accepted without some qualification. The principle of asceticism was in force before Christianity—in the Essenes, for instance, among the Jews. It was dominant in the oriental systems of antagonism between mind and matter. It asserted itself even among the more sensuous philosophies of Greece, with their larger sympathy for the pleasurable exercise of man's physical energies. But the fuller development of the ascetic life among Christians dates from the time when Christianity comes into contact with the Alexandrine school of thought, and exhibits itself first in a country subject to the combined influences of Judaism and of the Platonic philosophy. Indeed, the fundamental principle on which asceticism, in its narrower meaning, rests, of a two-fold morality, one expressed in *Precepts,* of universal obligation for the multitude, and one expressed in *Counsels of Perfection,* intended only for those more advanced in holiness, as well as the doctrine that the passions are to be extirpated rather than controlled,[1] is very closely akin to the Platonic or Pythagorean distinction between the life according to nature and the life above nature, and to the supremacy assigned to the contemplative above the practical life.[2] In fact the ascetics of the third and fourth centuries loved to be called philosophers.[3] At the same time it must be noted that the Church uttered from time to time her protests against the idea of there being anything essentially unholy in matter, and her cautions against excessive abstinence. Thus Origen insists that the Christian reason for abstinence is not that of Pythagoras;[1] and the so-called Apostolic Canons,[2] while approving asceticism as a useful discipline, condemn the abhorrence of things in themselves innocent, as if they involved any contamination.[3]

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[1] Orig. *Ep. ad Rom.* Lib. iii. Tertull. *de Pallio,* vii. viii. Clem. Alex., *Strom.* iv. 529, vi. 775.

[2] Porphyr. *De Abstinent.* Eus. *H. E.* II. xvii.

[3] Rosw. *Vitae Patr.* pass.; cf. Greg. Nyss. *Orat. Catech.* 18. Soz. *H. E.* I. xiii.

During the first century and a half of Christianity there are no indications of ascetics as a distinct class. While the first fervour of conversion lasted, and while the Church, as a small and compact community, was struggling for existence against opposing forces on every side, the profession of Christianity was itself a profession of the ascetic spirit; in other words, of endurance, of hardihood, of constant self-denial.[4]

Those Christians who were pre-eminent in sanctity, were pre-eminent as ascetics, but without separating themselves from the Brethren; they were "in the world," but not "of it." Thus even at a rather later date, Clemens of Alexandria represents Christianity as an asceticism.[5] Similarly the term is applied to any conspicuous example of fortitude or patience. Eusebius so designates certain martyrs in Palestine,[6] a region into which monks, strictly so called, were not introduced till the middle of the fourth century,[7] and Clemens of

---

[1] *Contra Celsum*, v. 264.

[2] li. lii.

[3] Cf. Eus. *H. E.* V. iii.

[4] Cf. Acts ii. 44; iv. 34, 35.

[5] *Strom.* iv. 22. Cf. Minuc. Fel. *Oct.* xii. xxxi. xxxvi.

[6] *De Mart. Pal.* x.

[7] Hieron. *Vit. Hilar.* 14.

Alexandria calls the patriarch Jacob an ascetic.[1] This vague and general use of the word appears again and again, even after the formal institution of monachism. Athanasius, or whoever is the author, speaking of the sufferings of the martyr Lucian in prison, calls him a "great ascetic."[2] Cyril of Jerusalem calls those who, like Anna the prophetess, are frequent and earnest in prayer, "ascetics."[3] Jerome applies the word to Picrius for his self-chosen poverty, and to Serapion, Bishop of Antioch;[4] and Epiphanius to Marcion, because prior to his lapse into heresy he had abstained, though without any vow, from marriage.[5] Cyril of Alexandria uses asceticism as equivalent to self-denial,[6] just as Chrysostom speaks of virtue as a discipline.[7] In these passages there is nothing to prove the existence of an ascetic class or order bound by rules not common to all Christians.

In the third century there begin to be traces of an asceticism more sharply defined and occupying a more distinct position; but not as yet requiring its votaries to separate themselves entirely from the rest of their community. Athenagoras speaks of persons habitually abstaining from matrimony.[8] Eusebius mentions devout persons, ascetics, but not an order, who ministered to the poor,[1] and calls Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, an "ascetic."[2] Clemens of Alexandria styles the ascetics "more elect than the elect."[3]

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[1] *Paedagog.* i. 7.

[2] *Synops. Scr. Sacr.*

[3] *Catech.* i. 19.

[4] *Scr. Ecc.* 76, 41.

[5] *Haer.* xvii.

[6] *In Joan.* xiii. 35.

[7] *Hom. in Ins.-cr. Act. Apostol.* ii. B.

[8] *Apol. pro Chr.* xxviii. 129; cf. Dionys. Alexand.

This increasing reverence for austerities is seen in most of the sects which were prominent in the second century, only with the exaggeration which usually characterizes a sectarian movement. The Montanists prescribed a rigorous asceticism, not for their more zealous disciples only, but for all indiscriminately. The Syrian Gnostics, the followers of Saturninus and Basilides, the Encratitæ, the disciples of Cerdo and Marcion in Asia Minor and Italy, all carried the notion of there being an inherent pollution in the material world, and of it being the positive duty of Christians to shun all contact with it, to an extent which left even the Church doctrine of asceticism far behind.[4] How far their practice corresponded with this theory is doubtful. The proneness of human nature to a reaction into excessive laxity, after excessive austerities, hardly admits of exception, and gives probability to the allegations made by the orthodox writers of flagrant licentiousness in some cases.

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[1] *De Mart. Pal.* x. xi.

[2] *H. E.* vi. 9. Tertullian uses the term "exercitati" or disciplined, but apparently in reference to students of Holy Scripture. *De Pud.* 14.

[3] *Hom.* "Quis Dives." 36; cf. *Strom.* viii. 15. Epiphanius speaks of monks as "the earnest," *Expos. Fid.* 22; cf. Eus. *H. E.* vi. 11; even as the word "religious" came in the middle ages to be restricted to those who devoted themselves to a life of more than ordinary strictness.

[4] Iren. *Adv. Haer.* i. 24; Epiphan. *Haer.* 23.

The middle of the third century marks an era in the development of Christian asceticism. Antony, Paul, Ammon, and other Egyptian Christians, not content, as the ascetics before them, to lead a life of extraordinary severity in towns and villages, aspired to a more thorough estrangement from all earthly ties; and by their teaching and example led many to the wilderness, there to live and die in almost utter seclusion from their fellows. The Decian persecution was probably the immediate occasion of this exodus, not only by driving many from the cities to take refuge in the desert, but by exciting a spirit which longed to emulate the self-renunciation of the martyrs and confessors. But it was probably the influence of the Alexandrine teaching, as has been already suggested, which had fostered the longing to escape altogether from the contaminations and persecutions of an evil world. It was no longer, as in earlier days, only or chiefly from external enemies that a devout Christian felt himself in danger. As Christianity widened the circle of its operations, it became inevitably less discriminating as to the character of those who were admitted into the community; and the gradual intrusion of a more secular spirit among Christians, first forced those who were thoroughly in earnest, to aim at a stricter life in the world, and then thrust them out of the world altogether. Eusebius bears witness to this

Alexandrine influence on Christian asceticism in a remarkable comparison of the ascetics of his own creed with the Therapeutæ in Egypt.[1] There seems to have been something in the climate and associations of Egypt (as in Syria) which predisposed men thus to abdicate the duties and responsibilities belonging to active life. The exact position which these Therapeutæ occupied is uncertain. Probably they were in existence prior to Christianity; and were chiefly, though not exclusively, Jews. From Philo's account[2] it seems clear at any rate that their manner of life resembled in many respects the life of the Christian ascetics in the desert. They dwelt in separate cells not far from one another, renounced their possessions, practised fastings and other austerities, and devoted themselves partly to contemplation, and in part to study. In this last point their example was not imitated by their Christian antitypes in Egypt. They seem to have been imbued with the mystical spirit of Alexandria. Their name signifies that they gave themselves either to serve God, or (more probably) to cultivate their own souls and those of their disciples.[3]

Hitherto Christian asceticism had been individualistic in its character. About the middle of the fourth century it began to assume a corporate character. Naturally, as the number of recluses increased, the need was felt of organization. Pachomius is generally regarded as the first to form a "Cœnobium," that is an association of ascetics dwelling together under one supreme authority.[1] A fixed rule of conduct and a promise to observe the rule were the natural consequences of forming a society. But the exaction of an irrevocable and lifelong vow belongs to a later phase of asceticism. James of Nisibis speaks of ascetics observing a rigid celibacy.[2] The term ascetic begins now to be nearly equivalent to monastic. The so-called "Apostolical Constitutions,"[3] which are generally assigned to this period, enumerate "ascetics," but not "monks," among orders of Christians. Basil of Cæsarea applies the word "ascetic" to the monastic life. So the word is used by Palladius[4] in the canons of the Council of Gangra against excessive asceticism,[5] and by Athanasius in his Life of Antony. Athanasius speaks of the two disciples who waited on Antony as "learning to be ascetics."[6]

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[1] *H. E.* II. xvii. Sozom. *H. E.* I. xiii.

[2] *De Vit. Contemplat.* pp. 892—894.

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* II. xvii.

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[1] Hieron. *Reg. Pachom.* Cf. Graveson *H. E.* I. cxvi.

[2] Sermo vi.

[3] xiii.

[4] *Hist. Laus.* Proem. xlvi. etc.

[5] xii. xiii.

[6] *Vit. Anton.* Cf. Socrat. *H. E.* IV. xxiii. ; Theodoret *H. E.* IV. xxv. At that time *μοναστηρίον* was, as the word literally expresses, a separate cell: *ἀσκητηρίον* a common dwelling-place under the rule of a superior, in which those who desired, according to the idea of the age, a yet higher stage of perfection, might be trained and disciplined for absolute seclusion. Gregor. Nazianz. *Orat.* xx. 359. In the middle ages the word "asceterium" was altered into "arcisterium," or "archisterium." In the beginning

Thus asceticism, from being the common attribute of Christianity, became by a gradual and almost imperceptible process the distinctive speciality of a class within the Christian community. In the third century hermits began to form a class by themselves in the East and in Africa; in the fourth they began to be organized into communities. After the institution of monastic societies, this development of Christian asceticism spread far and wide from the deserts of the Thebaid and Lower Egypt; Basil, Jerome, Athanasius, Augustine, Ambrose, were foremost among its earliest advocates and propagators; Cassian, Columbanus, Benedict, and others, crowned the labours of their predecessors by a more elaborate organization.

The rapid and yet gradual development of clerical celibacy was due in great measure to monastic influences. As the monastic obligation was riveted more firmly by an irrevocable vow, so celibacy became step by step compulsory on the clergy generally. The contrast on this point, between eastern and western sentiment, is exemplified in the canons of Neo-Cæsarea and of Orleans about marriage and fornication. The eastern council punishes the latter more severely;[1] the western brackets

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of the sixth century the widows and virgins who were officially recognized as such, are designated ἀσκητρίαι, Justin. *Novel.* cxxiii. 43. At a later period, the word means a nun, and is the Greek equivalent for "sanctimonialis," or "monialis." Phot. *Nomocan.* Tit. ix. p. 207. 'Ασκητριός is a later form for 'Ασκητής.

[1] *Conc. Neo Caesar.* i.

the offences.[1] In the monk celibacy was an aspiration after superhuman holiness, intensified by despair at the apparently hopeless corruption of the world around him; and in subtle conjunction with motives of this kind was the hankering after veneration. In every way the example of the monks told powerfully on the clergy. The more devout longed to attain the monk's moral impassibility; lower natures were attracted by the prospect of gaining for themselves the monk's commanding position. Thus the rivalry, which never ceased, between the regular and the secular clergy, made the clergy generally more willing to accept the hard conditions exacted of them by the policy of their rulers. So at least it was in Western Christendom. In the East there was a more complete severance between the monks and the secular clergy, the former being debarred more closely from intercourse with the world, and the latter acquiescing in what was for them ecclesiastically a lower standing.

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[1] *Conc. Aurel.* i.

CHAPTER II.

HERMITS.

The asceticism of the desert was the first step towards the asceticism of the cloister. It was prompted by a passionate longing to fly from the world, to escape not merely from the fury of the Decian or Diocletian persecutions, but from the contaminations of surrounding heathenism. It commended itself to devout Christians by reasons which, however specious, really contradict and cancel each other, for it seemed at once a refuge from spiritual dangers, and a bolder challenge to the powers of darkness to do their worst; at once a safer, quieter life than the perilous conflict day by day with an evil world, and, in another aspect, a life of sterner self-denial. In the pages of its panegyrists the solitary life presents itself now in one, and now in the other of these irreconcilable phases, according to the mood or temperament of the writer. The experience of history shows, that far from being either more heroic or more free from danger, it is neither.

Towards the close of the third century, Antony and Ammon in Egypt, and Paul in the Thebaid, led the way to the desert, and their example soon found a crowd of imitators.[1] In Syria Hilarion, in Armenia Eustathius, Bishop of Sebaste, in Cappadocia Basil urged on the movement. It spread quickly through Pontus, Illyricum, and Thrace westwards, and the personal prestige of Athanasius, an exile from his see, helped to make it popular at Rome.[2] But the solitary life never found so many votaries in Europe as in Egypt and in the East, partly because of the comparative inclemency of the climate necessitating more appliances to support life, partly because of the more energetic and practical character of the West.

The early ecclesiastical histories teem with the almost suicidal austerities of the more celebrated hermits. Not content with imposing on themselves the burden hard to be borne of a lifelong loneliness—for even without any vow of continuance it was very rarely that a hermit returned to the companionship of his fellows—and of a silence not to be broken even by prayer, they vied with one another in devising self-tortures; wandering about, almost naked, like wild beasts; barely supporting life by a little bread and water, or a few herbs; only allowing their macerated frames three or four hours' sleep in the twenty-four, on the bare rock, or in some narrow cell where it was impossible to straighten the limbs; counting cleanliness a luxury and a sin; maiming themselves sometimes with their own hands, to escape from being made bishops by force, and shunning a moment's intercourse even with those naturally dearest.[1] It was only in the decline of this enthusiasm, that hermits began to take up their abode near cities. The "father of hermits" used to compare a hermit near a town to a fish out of water.[2]

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[1] Soc. *H. E.* IV. xxiii. Soz. *H. E.* I. xiii, xiv. Hieron. *Epp.* xxii. (Ad Eust.).

[2] Niceph. *H. E.* IX. xvi. Aug. *De Op. Mon.* xxiii. Hieron. *Epp.* xvi. *Epit. Marcel.*

Usually the hermit's abode was in a cave, or in a small hut which his own hands had rudely put together,[3] but some, like the "possessed with evil spirits" in Gadara mentioned in the New Testament, had their dwellings in tombs.[4] Others roved about incessantly, to avoid the visits of the curious, like the Gyrovagi in having no fixed abode, but unlike them in keeping always alone and in feeding only on the wild herbs which they gathered. Others, the Stylitæ, aspiring to yet more utter isolation, planted themselves on the summit of solitary columns. Of these the most famous were Simeon, who in Syria during the fifth century is said to have lived forty-one years on a tall pillar, the top of which was barely three feet in diameter[1]; his namesake, who followed his example in the sixth century[2]; and a Daniel, who chose for the scene of his austerities a less dreary neighbourhood, a suburb of Constantinople.[3] Other Stylitæ are mentioned by Joannes Moschus.[4]

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[1] Cass. *Inst.* V. xxvi. xl. Soc. *H. E.* IV. xxiii. Soz. *H. E.* VI. xxix. xxxiv. Cf. Rosw. *Vit. Pat.* pass.

[2] Soz. *H. E.* I. xiii.

[3] Evag. *H. E.* I. xxi.

[4] Theod. *Philoth.* xii. Altes. *Ascet.* I. vii.

The example set by Simeon found not a few copyists in Syria and Greece, so late even as the eleventh century, but scarcely elsewhere.[5] Sometimes the saint lived inside the pillar, more usually on the top.[6] The monks of Egypt seem from the first to have been averse to the practice. In the more practical Western Church the custom never prevailed. When an ascetic, Wulfilaich, near Treves, in the sixth century, tried the experiment, his bishop demolished the pillar.[7]

The Stylitæ must not be confounded with some devotees at Alexandria in the fourth century, who slept on prostrate obelisks, described by the Emperor Julian as "filthy and superstitious."[8] The Stylitæ, partly perhaps through their independence of authority, were apt to fall into heresy. Ephraim of Edessa is said to have converted one of them miraculously from heresy.[1]

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[1] Evag. *H. E.* I. xiii., II. ix. Theod. *Philoth.* xxvi.

[2] Evag. *H. E.* VI. xxii.

[3] Theod. Lect. *H. E.* I. xxxii.

[4] *Prat.* xxvii. xxviii. lvii. cxxix.

[5] Nil. *Epp.* II. cxiv. cxv.

[6] Miræus *De Scr. Ecc.* xciii. ap. Fabric. *Bibl. Ecc.*

[7] Gregor. Turon. *Hist. Franc.*, VIII. xvi. The state of mind engendered by this morbid and unnatural existence is described with poetic insight by Tennyson in his poem on Simeon, the founder of the Pillar-Saints.

[8] Ap: Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* V. xli.

The reverence with which hermits were popularly regarded led to their aid being frequently invoked when controversies were raging. Thus in the middle of the fourth century Antony, who is also said to have more than once broken the spell of his seclusion, in order to go and plead the cause of some poor client at Alexandria,[2] being appealed to in the Arian conflict, not only addressed a letter to the Emperor, but made a visit in person to Alexandria on behalf of Athanasius.[3] The hermit Aphraates boldly confronted the Emperor Valens, as did Daniel (the later of the two pillar-hermits of that name) the Emperor Basiliscus.[4] The great Theodosius consulted the hermit Joannes.[5] The hermits near Antioch interceded with good effect when the magistrates of that city were about to execute the cruel orders of the exasperated Emperor.[6] But not rarely the unreasoning zeal of the hermits provoked great tumults, and sometimes in a misguided impulse of Quixotic pity they endeavoured by force to liberate criminals condemned by the law. Nor were their sympathies always on the side of the orthodox. When Theophilus of Alexandria denounced the error of the Anthropomorphitæ, almost all the Egyptian monks were fiercely incensed against him as an atheist, "in their simplicity," as Cassian adds.[1]

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[1] Mosch. *Prat.* xxxvi. ap. Rosw. *Vit. Pat.* See also Evagr. *Hist. Ecc.* I. xiii., VI. xxiii. Theodor. Lect. *Hist. Ecc.* I. xii. Niceph. *Hist. Ecc.* XV. iii.

[2] Soz. *H. E.* I. xiii.

[3] Soz. *H. E.* II. xxxi. Hieron. *Epp.* xxxiii. (Ad Castr.).

[4] Theodoret. *H. E.* IV. xxiii.

[5] Soz. *H. E.* VII. xxii.

[6] Chrys. *Hom. ad Ant.* xvii.

Some Syrian ascetics in the fourth century were called Bosci, because they lived on herbs only. Sozomen speaks of them as very numerous near Nisibis, and names a bishop among the most famous of them. They had no buildings, but lived on the mountains, continually praying and singing hymns. Each carried a knife, with which to cut herbs and grasses.[2] A connection has been traced between them and the sect of Adamiani or Adamitæ, who went about naked. The principle is the same—Rousseau's notion of returning to a state of nature—but the Bosci are not accused, as were the Adamitæ, of licentiousness; and with them the motive was apparently austere self-mortification. Frequent instances of similar abstinence are recorded of Eastern hermits in Moschus, Theodoret, and Evagrius.[3]

Solitaries soon began to cluster round great and populous cities. Partly, perhaps, they were influenced by actual experience of the spiritual horrors of loneliness, partly by a wish to mingle in the theological fray between orthodox and heretics, partly, perhaps, by a longing to have their hardships noticed and honoured by men. Sometimes the solitary cell was only a temporary shelter, a retreat in which to take breath, as it were, for a moment before engaging again in the battle of life. As the monastic system became more firmly consolidated, and at the same time more complex in its organization, the solitary life, especially in Western Christendom, came to be more and more exceptional in its occurrence. It is a characteristic difference between Asiatic and European asceticism, that the hermits of the East find their counterpart in solitaries, dwelling within the precincts of the community.

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[1] Cass. *Coll.* X. ii.

[2] Soz. *Hist. Ecc.* VI. xxxiii.

[3] *Prat.; Philoth.; Hist. Ecc.* I. xxi. Tillem. *Hist. Ecc.* VIII. 292.

Abraham (fourth century) was one of the most famous among the disciples of Ephraim Syrus.[1] By his parents, who were wealthy inhabitants of Edessa, he was induced against his will to marry, but deserted his bride on the wedding-day, and was found, after three weeks, in a cell two miles from the city. After the death of his parents, twelve years afterwards, he entrusted all his property to a friend for the poor, devoting himself to the life of an anchorite. Subsequently, against his own wishes, he was ordained priest, and sent by the bishop as a missionary to a neighbouring village of idolaters. There he destroyed the idols with his own hands, and chiefly through the extraordinary patience with which he bore their persecution, effected the conversion of the inhabitants. After building a church for them, he deserted his flock, as he had deserted his wife, and retired to his cell, to their great sorrow. During the fifty years of his seclusion he never tasted even bread, living entirely on vegetables, never changed his hair shirt, never washed face nor hands, and yet is said to have been hale and vigorous to the last. It is recorded of him, as of other solitaries, that he experienced peculiar temptations of Satan. He was always bewailing his own faults, but gentle and tolerant to others.[1] When his niece had been seduced from him by a profligate monk, he sought her in vain for two years, and at last having disguised himself as a soldier, found and reclaimed her from her abandoned life.[2]

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[1] Soz. *Hist.* III. xvi. Niceph. *Hist.* IX. xvi.

Another Abraham was a Syrian hermit of the fourth century, afterwards Bishop of Carrhae (Haran) in Mesopotamia.[3] From his cell in the desert of Chalcidice, near Antioch,[4] he went disguised as a pedlar to convert the inhabitants of Lebanon, and though opposed and persecuted at first, succeeded eventually in his purpose. At the end of three years, having persuaded the people to build themselves a church, he retired to his cell, but was subsequently prevailed upon, most unwillingly, to become Bishop of Carrhae. Even then he persevered in the same austere mode of life, so that, for a time, he lost the use of his limbs through his excessive fasting. His fare was only vegetables, he abstained even from bread and water; but though so severe to himself, he was hospitable to strangers. He was held in great reverence by the Emperor and his family.[1] It is recorded of him, that his retirement from the world was so complete, that he continued for some time after the Council of Nicæa, to keep Easter after the old reckoning, in ignorance of the decree which had been made.[2]

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[1] S. Eph. Syr. *Acta S. Abr.*

[2] He is commemorated by the Greek Church on the 29th of October; by the Latin Church on the 16th of March. A similar incident is invented in *The Cloister and the Hearth.*

[3] Theod. *Philoth.* xvii.

[4] Theod. *H.E.* IV. xxviii. Niceph. *H. E.* IX. xli.

Ammon (or Amon), the founder of the celebrated settlement of hermits on and near Mons Nitrius,[3] often styled the "Father of Egyptian Monasticism," was contemporary with Antony, and filled the same place in Lower Egypt as Antony in the Thebaid. Left an orphan by his parents, wealthy people near Alexandria, he was forced by his uncle to marry. But on the wedding-day he persuaded his bride to take a vow of celibacy, and for eighteen years they lived together as brother and sister: afterwards with her consent he withdrew to Nitria, and from that time only visited his wife twice a year.[4] A great multitude of zealous disciples soon gathered round him.

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[1] Theod. *Philoth.* xvii.

[2] *Ibid.* iii. See *Act. SS. Boll. Feb.* 14.

[3] Ruff. *De Mon.* xxx.

[4] Pall. *Hist. Laus.* viii.

Baradatus was a celebrated hermit near Antioch, in the fifth century. After many years of utter seclusion in a cell so small that he could neither stand nor lie in it, he was at last induced by Theodotus the Bishop of Antioch to come forth. He appeared wrapped in skins from head to foot, with the exception of the mouth and nostrils.[1]

The Circumcelliones were vagabond monks, censured by Cassian for roving from place to place.[2] Perhaps the name was transferred to them from the Donatist fanatics. Augustine rebuts this comparison as unmerited, at least within his experience.[3] But elsewhere[4] he inveighs with characteristic warmth against the idle, vagrant monks, who scoured the country for alms, vending fictitious relics. Benedict of Aniane quotes Isidorus[5] against these Circumcelliones or Circilliones, as spurious anchorites.[6] These vagabond monks were condemned as unstable and scandalous,[7] and as mock hermits, in the synodical Letter from the East addressed to the Emperor Theophilus.[1] They are denounced by Nilus,[2] and are, probably, the vagabonds censured in the Rule of Benedict.[3]

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[1] In the *Dict. Chr. Antiq.* (II. pp. 1318-1321) Dr. Cheetham gives many instances of eremitic austerities, in regard to water, clothing, sleep, shelter, diet, bodily disfigurement, the endurance of cold, the habit of wearing a heavy cross or an iron chain, of standing in the attitude of being crucified, &c. &c.

[2] *Coll.* XVIII. vii.

[3] *In Ps.* cxxxii. 6.

[4] *De Op. Monach.* xxviii.

[5] *De Off. Ecc.* II. xv.

[6] *Reg. Concord.* iii.; cf. Menard. ad loc.

[7] *Conc. Tolet.* VII. v.

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[1] *Synod. Ep. Orient.* ap. Suicer. *Thesaur.* s. v.

[2] *Epp.* III. xix.

[3] *Reg. Ben.* i. The name occurs so late as in Monachus Sangallensis, who narrates how a circumcellio intruded into the choir in presence of Charles the Great. (*Gest. Carol. M.* I. viii. Canisii *Ant. Lect.*)

The Sarabaitæ lived two or three together, under no Rule, generally near a town, where they could sell their wares at a fancy price because of their reputed sanctity. In Egypt they were called Remoboth. Dr. Cheetham, *Dict. Chr. Ant.* II. p. 1842.

CHAPTER III.

LAURAS.

THE institution of Lauras was the connecting link between the hermitage and the monastery, in the later and more ordinary use of that word. Pachomius at Tabenna in Upper Egypt organized a community of hermits, by arranging that three should occupy one cell, and that all who were near enough should meet together for the daily meal.[1] The monks of Mons Nitrius, near the Lake Mareotis, though many of them in separate cells,[2] had refectories for common use, chapels in their midst for common worship, certain presbyters appointed to officiate in these chapels, and certain lay officers,[3] elected by the older hermits to provide for their temporal wants, such as they were, and to transmit their scanty alms,[4] derived chiefly from the sale of the rush mats which they wove. In the Thebaid a hermit named Joannes presided over a large number of hermits.

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[1] Sozom. *H. E.* III. xiv.

[2] Ruffin. *Hist. Mon.* xxx.

[3] œconomi.

[4] diaconia.

A Laura was an aggregation of separate cells, under the not very strongly defined control of a superior, the inmates meeting together only on the first and last days, the old and new Sabbaths, of each week, for their common meal in the refectory and for common worship. On the other days of the week they dwelt apart from one another, each in the silence and solitude of his cell, subsisting on bread and water, the ordinary fare of the primitive founders of monasticism. The cells, though separate, were in close proximity to one another, like the wigwams of an Indian encampment, and all clustering round the chapel of the community.[1] Usually each cell contained one inmate only.

The origin of the word "Laura" is uncertain. By one account it is Ionic:[2] by another, it is a contraction of the Greek word for labyrinth, and expressive of the narrow paths or wynds, winding in and out among the cells: more probably it is another form of "labra," the popular term in Alexandria for an alley or narrow court.[3]

One of the most celebrated lauras was founded by

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[1] Menardi *Comment. in Bened. Anian. Conc. Reg.* III. i. A Laura has been well described as "a religious village, from which women were excluded." (*Dict. Ch. Ant.* II. p. 1239, Rev. E. Venables.) Joan. Hieros. *Vit. Joan. Damas.* p. 693.

[2] Du Cange *Glossar. Gr.* s.v.

[3] Suicer. *Thes. Ecc.* s.v. Epiphan. *Hær.* xlix. The worst explanation of the word is that which derives it from *οἱ λαοὶ ῥέουσι*, as if it were a thoroughfare along which a crowd streams.

Chariton, a hermit, at Pharan, near the Dead Sea:[1] another in the fifth century near Jerusalem by Sabas, a celebrated desert-saint from Cappadocia: others by Gerasimus, Euthymius, and the Empress Eudocia.

As the cœnobitic life became more prevalent, young and inexperienced monks were discouraged generally from venturing on the solitary life, without previous training with other monks, under the authority and supervision of an abbat. Thus Euthymius advised the youthful Sabas to quit his separate cell in the laura, and to join a cœnobium for a time.[2] Gerasimus is said to have established a cœnobium in the midst of his laura.[3]

Obviously life in a laura incurred a twofold danger, being exposed at the same time to the temptations peculiar to solitude, and to those which are incidental to a number of persons living together under no strict rule, without much restraint of any kind, and without the necessity of constant occupation. The denizens of a laura are sometimes termed "lauretae":[4] they have been compared to the "inclusi" of Western monachism, but there are many points of difference.

The word "cœnobium"[5] is equivalent to "monasterium," in the later sense of that word. Cassian distinguishes the word thus. "Monasterium," he says, "may be the dwelling of a single monk, cœnobium must be of several; the former word," he adds, "expressed only the place, the latter the manner of living."[1] The neglect of this distinction has led to much inaccuracy in attempting to fix the date of the first "cœnobia" or communities of monks under one roof and under one government. Thus Helyot[2] ascribes their origin to Antony, the famous anchorite of the Thebaid, in the third century. But the counter-opinion which ascribes it to Pachomius of Tabenna a century later is more probable;[3] for it seems to have been the want of some fixed rule to control the irregularities arising from the vast number of eremites, with their cells either entirely isolated from one another or merely grouped together casually, which gave the first occasion to "cœnobia." Martene indeed makes the monastic community prior in time to the solitary life,[4] but in this he appears to be misled by the common error of attaching to "monastery," in the oldest writers, the meaning which it assumed only in the course of time.[5] Cassian himself, in the very passage cited by Martene in support of this theory, distinctly traces back the word to the solitaries, the earliest of monks.[1] In allowing that the earliest mention of lauras occurs a little before the middle of the fourth century, Helyot supplied a strong argument against himself.[2] For the lauras were an attempt at combining the detached hermitages into a sort of community, though without the order and regularity which constituted the "cœnobium," and thus appear to have been a stepping-stone towards the fully-equipped monastery. In view of other considerations to the contrary, much importance cannot be attached to the passage which Helyot cites from the *Vita Antonii*, said to be by Athanasius, as it may probably be one of the many interpolations there; nor to the passage from Ruffinus[3] which speaks of Pior being dismissed at the early age of twenty-five by Antony, for there is nothing here about a community, only about Pior being himself trained by the great eremite.[4] In fact, the growth of cœnobitism seems to have been very gradual. Just as many ascetics were collected near the Mons Nitrius,[5] so doubtless it was elsewhere also, even before Pachomius had begun his cœnobium.

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[1] Bulteau *Hist. de l'Ordre de S. Benoist* I. i.

[2] Cyril Scythop. *Vit. S. Sab.*

[3] Cyril Scythop. *Vit. S. Euthym.*

[4] Mosch. *Prat.* iii. iv.

[5] The origin of cœnobitism is traceable to a time before the Christian era. Something similar is found in Plato; and the Pythagoreans are described by Aulus Gellius as living together, and as having a community of goods.

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[1] *Collat.* XVIII. x.

[2] *Hist. des Ordr. Mon.* Diss. Prélim. § 5.

[3] Tillem. *H. E.* VII. 167, 176, 676.

[4] *Comm. in Reg. Bened.* i.

[5] Tillemont *H. E.* VII. 102.

But the interval is considerable between this very imperfect organization of monks, thus herding lawlessly together with the abbat's will in place of a written law,[1] and the symmetrical completeness of the Benedictine system. Tabenna marks the transition. Perhaps the earliest cœnobia were of women, for though the word "Virgins," in the account of Antony leaving his sister in the charge of devout women,[2] is by no means conclusive,[3] the female eremites would naturally be the first to feel the need of combination for mutual help and security. As might be expected for obvious reasons, there have been few female hermits. Gregory of Tours mentions a nun of the convent of Ste. Croix, Poitiers, who retired to a hermitage by permission of the abbess Radegunda. Usually these female solitaries had their cells in close contiguity to the walls of a church or of a monastery.

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[1] *Collat.* XVIII. v.

[2] *Hist. des Ordr. Mon.* Diss. Prélim. § 5.

[3] *De Verb. Sen.* xxxi.

[4] Cf. Tillem. *H. E.* VII. 109.

[5] Ruff. *Hist. Mon.* xxx.

On the comparative merits of the eremitic[4] and cœnobitic life there has been much difference of opinion among writers who extol asceticism. Even the same writer not infrequently inclines now to the solitary life, and now to the life in a community, as he views the question from one side or another. Basil admires hermits,[1] but, in the rule for monks ascribed to him, commends the cœnobitic life, as more truly unselfish, more rich in opportunities both for helping and for being helped.[2] Jerome, with all his passion for austerity, cautions his friend and pupil against the dangers of solitude.[3] Augustine praises hermits, and yet allows that cœnobites have a more unquestionable title to veneration.[4] Cassian often speaks of hermits as having climbed to the summit of excellence,[5] and describes a life of perfect solitude as a pinnacle of holiness, for which the life in the monastic community is only a preparation. At other times he deprecates the solitary life as not suitable for all, and as beyond the reach of many; and he relates how a devout monk gave up the attempt in despair, and returned to his monastic brethren.[6]

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[1] Pall. *Hist. Laus.* vii.

[2] Athan. *Vit. Ant.*

[3] Cf. on the other side Tillem. *H. E.* VII. 102.

[4] Some mediæval writers on monasticism define hermits (*eremitæ*) as solitaries in cells, and anchorites (*anachoretæ*) as solitaries without any fixed dwelling-place: more correctly anchorites are solitaries who have passed a time of probation as cœnobites, and hermits those who enter on the solitary life without this preparation. Generally the word "eremite" includes all solitary ascetics of one sort or another: other designations of them in early ecclesiastical writers are, viri Dei, renunciantes, continentes, cellulani, inclusi, reclusi, monachi, etc., and later, religiosi. The words *μονάχος* and *μοναστηριόν* were soon transferred from the solitary hermitage to the cœnobite in his community.

The preponderance of opinion among the admirers of asceticism places the cœnobitic life above the solitary. Theophylact interprets "those who bear fruit an hundredfold" in the parable, as virgins and eremites, and Sozomen, with the enthusiastic orator of the Golden Mouth,[1] regards the solitary life as "the highest peak of philosophy." But the sagacious Benedict, on the contrary, prefers the life of the cœnobite as safer, more edifying, less alloyed by the taint of selfishness.[2] So too, Gregory, the friend of Basil,[3] and Isidorus Hispanensis, one of the founders of monasticism in Spain, and Cuthbert of Lindisfarne.[4] Even Jerome, his monastic fervour notwithstanding, prefers life in the community to life in utter solitude; though at first he seems to have been a zealous upholder of the contrary opinion.[5] Experience had taught him the perils of solitude. Legislators found it expedient to curb the rage for eremitism. Justinian ordered monks to stay within the "cœnobia."[6] Similarly Charles the Great discouraged hermits, while protecting cœnobitic monks,[7] and the seventh Council of Toledo censured roving and solitary monks.[8] Even in the East the same distrust prevailed of persons undertaking more than they could bear. Thus the Council in Trullo enjoined a sojourn of some time in a cœnobium as the preliminary to life in the desert.[1] Benedict aptly illustrates the difference, from his point of view, between these two forms of asceticism. The solitary, he says, leaves the line of battle, to fight in a single combat.[2]

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[1] *Ep. ad Chilon.*

[2] *Reg.* vii.

[3] *Epp.* iv. (Ad Rust.).

[4] *De Mor. Ecc.* xxxi.

[5] *Inst.* V. xxxvi. *Coll.* XVIII. iv.

[6] *Coll.* XXX. ii. iii. XXIV. viii.

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[1] *In. S. Marc.* iv. 20. Sozom. *Hist. Ecc.* VI. xxxi. Chrysost. *Epp.* 1.

[2] *Reg.* i.

[3] *Orat.* 21.

[4] *De Off. Ecc.* II. xv. Mab. *Ann.* XVI. lxxii.

[5] *Epp.* cxxv. (Ad. Rust.) xiv. (Ad. Heliod.).

[6] "Cœnobium" is used sometimes in mediæval writers for the "basilica" or church of the monastery. Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* iv. 4. A Greek equivalent for "cœnobitæ" is *συνοδίται*. Jerome gives "Sauches" or "Sausses," as the Egyptian equivalent. In mediæval Latin "cœnobita" is sometimes cœnobitalis, -bialis, -iota, or -ius: "claustrum" (cloister), "conventus," are frequently used for "cœnobium." *Novel.* v. Cf. *Conc. Carth.* xlvii. *Conc. Agath.* xxxviii.

[7] *Conc. Francof.* A.D. 794, xii.

[8] *Conc. Tolet.* VII. v.

The solitary life, when once the cœnobitic life had been established, was never regarded as a thing to be undertaken lightly, nor without probation as a cœnobite.[3] Benedict, comparing the hermit to a champion advancing in front of the army for single combat with the foe, insists on his proving himself and his armour beforehand.[4] Councils repeatedly enforce this probationary discipline.[5] The permission of the abbat was required, and sometimes the consent of the brethren, and sometimes of the bishop.[6] The length of this period of probation varied.[7] Even those who most admired the hermit-life fenced it round with prohibitions, as a risk not to be encountered lightly.

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[1] A.D. 692, xli.

[2] *v. s.* Cf. *Concord. Reg.* iii. Sulp. Sever. *Dial.* I. xvii.

[3] *E. g.* Hieron. *Epp.* iv. (Ad. Rust.). Cass. *Inst.* V. iv. *Coll.* xviii. 4. Joan. Clim. *Scala* IV. xxvii.

[4] *v. s.*

[5] *Conc. Venet.* A.D. 465, vii. *Conc. Tolet.* IV. A.D. 633, lxiii. VII. A.D. 646, v. *Conc. Trull.* A.D. 692, xli. xlii.

[6] Sulp. Sever. *Dial.* I. v. Mart. *Comm. in Reg. Ben.* i. *Conc. Franc.* A.D. 794, xii.

[7] Martene, *v. s.* Cf. Isid. *De Div. Off.* II. xv.

CHAPTER IV.

EXPANSION OF MONASTICISM.

In the fourth century the growing reverence for celibacy aided monasticism to make its way into almost every province of the Roman Empire, the civilized world of that day.[1] The elder Macarius in the Scetic or Scithic desert, the elder Ammon on the Nitrian Mount, higher up the Nile Pachomius in the Thebaid, treading in the footsteps of Antony, founded enormous communities of monks, with some sort of rude organization. The numbers of monks in Egypt thus herding together, and withdrawn from ordinary duties of a social and political life, was reckoned at this time by thousands.[2] In Syria, Hilarion and his friend Hesychas, with Epiphanius, afterwards bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, in Armenia Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, the first, according to some writers, to prescribe a monastic dress, and in Asia Minor Basil, the first to impose the vow, led the way.[1] In Africa the rage for the monastic life, according to Augustine, was chiefly among the poor.[2]

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[1] Aug. *De Mor. Ecc.* I. xxxi. Theodoret. *Hist. Rel.* xxx.

[2] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xiv. VI. xxxi. Cass. *Inst.* IV. i.

The severe enactments of the persecuting Emperor Valens were powerless to check the rush of popular feeling in this direction.[3] Jerome speaks of multitudes of monks in India, Persia, Ethiopia.[4]

From Syria and Egypt the passion for monasticism spread rapidly westwards. Severinus, "the Apostle of Noricum," was a monk like most of the great missionaries of this period, and propagated monasticism side by side with Christianity. The islands of the Adriatic sea soon swarmed with monks, nor were the isles in the Tuscan sea slow to follow their example.[5] About the middle of the fourth century, Athanasius in his exile from Alexandria, sought shelter at Rome, and there, in the Metropolis of the world,[1] the growing passion for monasticism enjoyed to the full all the advantages which his reputation for orthodoxy and sanctity could lend it, or which it could derive half a century later from Jerome's fervent and uncompromising advocacy. There was much in the monastic life thoroughly in keeping with what remained among Romans of their pristine sternness, and it was a congenial reaction from the luxury and effeminacy of the day. Eusebius, contemporary with Athanasius, fostered it at Vercellæ in Northern Italy, where, as bishop, he resided under the same roof with some of his clergy, all living together by rule: and somewhat later the illustrious Ambrose promoted its development in and about Milan, then, as now, one of the chief cities in that part of the peninsula.[2] Cassian, early in the fifth century, carried his experiences of eremitic and cœnobitic life in Egypt and the Thebaid to Marseilles, already an important trading place, there establishing two monasteries, afterwards of great celebrity. He found similar institutions flourishing in the islands[3] then called Stœchades, and now familiar to invalids off the southern coast of France, at Toulouse, and in the adjacent district, under the direction of Honoratus, Jovinianus, Leontius, and Theodorus. Martin, bishop of Tours,[1] turned his episcopal palace into a monastery, and at his death was followed to the grave by 2000 monks.[2] In the earlier part of his life he had founded a monastery[3] near Poitiers.[4] One of his disciples, Maximus, founded a monastery on L'isle Barbe[5] near Lyons, and another at Trier or Treves.[6] Romanus, a pupil of Benedict of Monte Casino, with his brother Lupicinus, faithful to their master's teaching, planted monasteries on the Jura Mountains early in the sixth century.[7] In Spain, probably from its proximity to Africa and easy communication with that country, then the representative of Western or Latin Christianity, monasticism flourished at an earlier date even than in Southern Gaul, under the auspices apparently, in the first instance, of an African named Donatus.[8] So early as in 380 A.D. a decree of a council at Saragossa forbidding priests to affect the dress of monks, shows that monasticism had even then made considerable progress in Spain.[9] In the British Isles, monasticism flourished extensively long before the mission of Augustine to England, but the Roman missionaries on their arrival received anything but a cordial welcome from their British brethren, a feeling of mutual distrust and hostility arising from the differences which existed in ritual and costume.

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[1] Soz. *H. E.* VI. xxxii. Hieron. *Vit. Hilar.* Cf. Helyot *Hist. des Ordr. Mon.* Bulteau *Hist. des Moines d' Orient.*

[2] *De Op. Mon.* xxii.

[3] Soc. *H. E.* IV. xxiv.

[4] *Epp.* cvii. (Ad Læt.). Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, I. xi., speaks of all the monasteries in Ethiopia as professing to obey the so-called "Rule of Antony," but with different observances. An attempt at reformation, such as invariably occurs in the life of a monastic order, was made in the seventh century: Jeela-Haimanot, according to Helyot, being the second founder or Benedict of Ethiopian monasticism. He endeavoured to consolidate the system under a superior General, second in ecclesiastical rank only to the Patriarch of Ethiopia, who was to visit and inspect the monasteries personally or by proxy. Several of them, however, preferred to retain their independence, like congregationalists. Monks swarmed in Ethiopia, according to Helyot, long after the first fervour of asceticism; and the constitution of the Ethiopian church was monastic. Cf. Robertson, *Church Hist.* i. 300.

[5] Hieron. *Ep. de Mort.* Fabiol. *Ep. ad Heliod.*

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[1] Aug. *De Mor. Ecc.* xxxiii.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] "*Insulani*" was a designation of monks in Southern France in the fifth century, on account of the great reputation of the monasteries and monastic schools on the islands near the coast, especially on the island Lerina. (Bingh. *Orig. Ecc.* VII. ii. § 14.)

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[1] Cæsarodunum.

[2] Sulp. Sev. *Vit. S. Mart.*

[3] Locogiagense, Ligugé.

[4] Pictavium.

[5] Insula Barbara.

[6] Augusta Trevirorum.

[7] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.*

[8] Ildefons. *De Vir. Illust.*

[9] *Conc. Cæsaraug.* vi. Cf. Mab. *Ann. O.S.B.* III. xxxviii. xxxix.

But rapid as was the growth of monasticism, it had many and great difficulties to contend with. The very enthusiasm in its favour, which the ardour of men like Jerome kindled among devout persons, only intensified in other quarters the bitterness and rancour of antagonism. The tumultuous uproar of the Roman crowd at Blesilla's funeral [1] was a popular protest against the grim austerities which were supposed to have been the cause of her death. Salvian in the fifth century speaks of the unpopularity of the monks in Africa, and of the jibes and jeers which their pale faces and sombre dress excited in the streets.[2] Rutilius Numatianus calls them "shunners of light," [3] as if they were bats or owls, and though the imperial government on rare occasions, probably under some exceptional influence, shielded the monasteries, as when Justinian allowed minors and slaves to embrace the monastic life without the permission of their superiors,[4] yet, as a rule, the civil power regarded with a not unreasonable jealousy the absorption of so many of its citizens into a current which withdrew them not for a time only, but for life, (for the obligation soon came to be considered a life-long one,[1]) from all participation in responsibilities of a social and political nature. Theodosius ordered all those who evaded their civil duties on the plea of asceticism to be deprived of their civil rights, unless they returned to claim them. By the law of the Eastern Church a bishop who became a hermit was "ipso facto" deprived of his office.

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[1] Hieron. *Epp.* cxxvii. (Ad Princip.) xxxix. (Ad Paul.).

[2] *De Gubern.* VIII. iv.

[3] Lucifugi. *De Reditu.*

[4] *Cod.* I. iii. 53, 55. *Nov.* V. ii.

From the first there was a marked contrast, which has been well expressed by the terms "endogenous" and "exogenous," between Eastern and Western monachism. The dreamy quietism of the East preferred silent contemplation of the unseen world to labour and toil: its self-mortification was passive rather than active. So far as it prescribed work at all, the work was rather as a safeguard for the soul against the snares which Satan spreads for the unoccupied, than with a view to benefiting others. Weaving mats and baskets, or rushes, or osiers, was all that was required, as a harmless way of passing the time, or of busying the fingers, while the thoughts were fixed on vacancy. The soft and genial climate, too, spared the Asiatic or the African the trouble of providing for his own daily wants, and those of his brethren, with the sweat wrung from his brow. The same habit of indolent abstraction held him back from those literary pursuits which were in many an instance the redeeming characteristic of the great monasteries of the West, while it gave the rein to an abstruse and bewildering disputativeness, ever evolving out of itself fresh materials for disputing. In Europe it was quite otherwise. There, even within the walls of the monastery, was the ever-present sense of the necessity and the blessedness of exertion. There, the monk was not merely a worker among other workers, but by his vocation led the way in enterprises of danger and difficulty. Whatever time remained over and above the stated hours of prayer and study, was for manual labours of a useful kind, for farming, gardening, building, out of doors, and, within the house, for caligraphy, painting, etc. The monks in Europe were the pioneers of culture and civilization as well as of religion: they were the advanced guard of the armies of art, science, and literature. From this radical divergence of thought and feeling two main consequences followed naturally. A less sparing, a more generous diet was a necessity for those who were bearing the fatigues of the day in a way of which their Eastern brethren could form no idea. A more exact, a more minute arrangement of the hours of the day, was a necessity for those who, instead of wanting to kill time, had to economize it to the best of their ability. The closer and more systematic organization which, from the date at least of Benedict of Monte Casino, marked the monasteries of the West, and the more liberal dietary which he deliberately sanctioned, were admirably adapted for the Roman and the Barbarian alike, in the Europe of his day. To the one, with his innate and traditionary deference for law, the orderly routine of the cloister was congenial, and even the sturdy independence of the Teuton bowed willingly beneath a yoke which it had chosen for itself without restraint.

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[1] Aug. *Serm.* I. Ad Frat.

> "In truth the prison unto which we doom
> Ourselves no prison is."

In the East the monasteries, as a rule, were larger, but administered less firmly. There the laxer system of the "Laura" prevailed more widely and lasted till a later period than in Europe.[1] In East and West alike the control exercised by the bishop of the diocese over the monasteries in his jurisdiction was from first to last scarcely more than titular. But in Latin Christendom the centralizing authority of the Pope supplied the want of episcopal control, not, however, without the evils which are inherent in an excessive centralization.

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[1] Mab. *Præfat.* V. vi.

CHAPTER V.

ATTEMPTS AT ORGANIZATION.

Before the fifth century there was no uniformity of rule even among monasteries of the same race or country. Cassian complained that every cell had its rule, that there were as many rules as monasteries.[1] In some cases, under the same roof, a divided allegiance was given to several rules at once. All this was perhaps inevitable from the fact that the monastic life had its origin not in an impulse given by any one directing and controlling spirit, but in the exigencies of the age generally. Gradually order emerged out of this chaos. The ascetic writings commonly ascribed to Basil of Cæsarea, sometimes to his friend Eustathius of Sebaste, exercised from the first over the monasteries of the East an influence which they have never lost in those unchanging lands where change is an impiety. The Rule of Basil—the first written code of the sort—was popular for a time in Southern Italy, a stronghold

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[1] *Inst.* II. ii.

(from the circumstances of its colonization) of Greek sympathies, was translated into Latin at the instance of Ursenus, abbat of Pinetum, probably near the famous pine woods of Ravenna,[1] was used in Gaul during the fifth century at Limoges in conjunction with Cassian's Institutes,[2] and won for itself the commendation of Cassiodorus and Benedict. Some European monasteries at first adopted their rules from Egypt, the mother-country of asceticism; thus the so-called "Rule of Macarius" was in force in a Burgundian monastery, and the "Rule of Antony" in a monastery near Orleans.[3] Cassian was the precursor of Benedict in the arduous work of systematizing the development of monasticism. But it is inexact to speak of "Cassian's severe and inflexible code."[4] Strictly speaking, Cassian is the author of no rule properly so entitled; he was a compiler of materials suggestive of legislation, not a legislator himself. It was probably through his influence, in part at least, that many of the Gallic monasteries copied the type presented to them by the celebrated monastery of Honoratus at Lerins,[5] which seems to have been itself in its commencement a copy from those great Egyptian communities, which Cassian knew well from his own personal experience, wherein the brethren, dwelling each in his little separate cell, all under one abbat, met together at stated times for the sacred offices, and for refreshment.[1]

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[1] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* I. xv.

[2] Lemovircus Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* IV. xl.

[3] Aurel. Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* IV. l.

[4] Milman *Lat. Christ.* I. 167.

[5] Lerina.

The appearance of the Rule of Benedict, first and greatest in the long list of monastic reformers, was the commencement of uniformity in the monasteries of the West. Starting from its birthplace, Monte Casino, on the wildly picturesque spurs of the Apennines, it asserted its supremacy in Italy before the end of the sixth century, in the countries which are now France and Germany, after the era of Winfried or Boniface, and in Spain, where the Rule of Isidore had prevailed after the ninth century. In the next century it was almost universally accepted throughout Christian Europe.[2]

For a time, indeed, the more ascetic Rule of Columbanus, emanating from the remote islands of the West, where, before his missionary labours in Gaul and elsewhere, he had been trained under the rigorous tutelage of the famous Comgall, abbat of Bangor, came into conflict in Central Europe with the Benedictine Rule, and disputed its pre-eminence. But the followers of Columbanus never became a separate order. The monasteries wherein his rule was followed solely and absolutely were never numerous. More usually his Rule was combined with that of Benedict, as in the monasteries of Luxenil[1] and Bobbio[2] in the seventh century. The most characteristic part of his Rule, the Pœnitentiale, was too peremptory, too draconic, ever to become popular generally. After the synod of Mâcon,[3] in which the Rule was defended by Eustathius, abbat of Luxenil, from the charges brought against it by one of his monks, the Columbanist Rule may be said to have ceased to exist separately. The Benedictine Rule was milder and more flexible than its compeers: it was more in harmony with the temperament of the Italian peninsula, whence other Christian lands in the West received their ecclesiastical laws; it enjoyed the favour and patronage of Rome, the capital of Christendom.[4] Wherever the two Rules existed side by side in the same monastery, the Italian Rule, invariably and as of necessity, sooner or later ousted the British. Even in its own birth-land, notwithstanding the obstinate tenacity with which the native monks clung to their prepossessions about the right time for keeping Easter, and the right way of shaving for the tonsure, etc., the Rule of Columbanus failed to hold its own against the encroachments of its exotic rival. In the eighth century the Rule of Benedict was carried by English missionaries beyond the Tweed.[5]

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[1] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* I. xxix. xxx.

[2] Pellicia *Ecc. Chr. Pol.* I. iii. 1, 4.

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[1] Luxovium.

[2] Bobium.

[3] *Conc. Matiscon.* 625 A.D.

[4] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* Præf. xxiii. xxv.
Holsten. *Præf. in Concord. Reg.* Bened. Anian. 403.

Eastern monks preserved from the first with characteristic tenacity the Rule of Basil. Their fastings are more frequent and more rigorous than those in Western Christendom; their offices are more lengthy. But partly from this very circumstance, and partly from the office-books being very costly, some are not infrequently omitted. They are divided, like their Western brethren, into three kinds: Cœnobites, dwelling together under one roof; Anchorites, scattered round the several monasteries and resorting thither for solemn services on festivals, etc.; and Eremites, or solitary recluses. The Cœnobites, or monks proper, are again subdivided into novices, and two superior ranks.[1]

The "Hours" observed by the Caloyers[2] are much the same as those in the West, being in fact derived from a common source. After a prolonged service at midnight they sleep from two a.m. to five a.m. Then comes a service corresponding to matins, lauds and prime, the last portion of which is simultaneous to sunrise. After an interval spent in their cells, they meet again at nine a.m. for tierce, sext and mass. At midday is dinner, with the usual lections in the refectory. At four p.m. vespers; at six p.m. supper, followed by a sort of compline; at eight p.m. they go to bed.[1]

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[1] Helyot, *Hist. des Ordr. Mon.* I. xix.

[2] Perhaps from *κάλον γῆρας*, or from *κάλος γέρων*. Applied at first (like Nonnus, Papa, etc.) to older monks, it soon became the common property of all (Suicer. *Thesaur.* s. v. Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* iii.).

They have four special seasons of fasting in the year, and their abstinence is more severe than in Western climes. Besides Lent, there are the Fast of the Apostles, commencing on the eighth day after Whitsunday, and lasting about three weeks, the Fast of the Assumption, lasting fourteen days, and Advent.[2] Their robes, more flowing and voluminous than those of Western Orders, are marked on the cape with the Cross, and with the letters IC. XC. NC. (Jesus Christus Vincit). The tonsure extends all over the head, but they wear beards.[3] Numerous lay brothers are attached to each monastery for the field work, and considerable taxes are collected from each monastery by the exarchs, or visitors, for the patriarch.[4]

The greatest of the Asiatic monasteries is on Mount Sinai, founded, it is said, by Justinian, and renowned as the residence of Athanasius of Mount Sinai, and of John Climacus, whose name appears in Western hagiologies also. Here, as at Monte Casino, the abbat exercises a large ecclesiastical jurisdiction; he is Archbishop *ex officio*. As a precaution against Arabs, there are no doors, and the only gateway is blocked up. Provisions and pilgrims, etc., are all drawn up in a basket to the window. In Europe there are several of these monasteries, among which those on the isles in the Levant are famous. But the greatest are those on Mount Athos, where the peninsula is entirely and exclusively occupied by the Caloyers.[1]

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[1] Helyot, *Hist. des Ordr. Mon.* I. xix.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Mabill. *Ann. O. S. B.* I. xv. 32.

[4] Helyot, *Hist. des Ordr. Mon.* I. xix.

Even when the ascetic life had been systematized in monastic communities, traces appear from time to time, here and there, in Western Christendom of the old fondness for utter solitude. It is a retrograde step from civilizing influences to the individualism and social disintegration of the hermitage.

Midway were the Anchorites, so called because they retired from the communities wherein the monks dwelt together, to small cells in the vicinity. On festivals they repaired to the church of the monastery, and thus, being still semi-attached to the community, they differed from hermits, who were independent of control, as preferring the more complete privacy of the cell, that their meditations might be uninterrupted.[2]

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[1] Helyot, *Hist. des Ordr. Mon.* I. xix. *Hesychastae* (ἡσυχασταὶ) were monks who were allowed to have separate cells within the precincts, that their meditations might be uninterrupted (Bing. *Orig. Ecc.* VII. ii. § 14. Menard. in Bened. Anian. *Concord. Regul.* xxix. Cf. Justinian. *Novell.* V. xxxiii.). Riddle, however, (*Chr. Antiq.*) takes it as a designation of monks bound to silence ; and Suicer. (*Thes. Eccles.*) as meaning anchorites, although the passage which he quotes from Balsamon (*ad Conc. Nic.* II. A.D. 787) distinguishes Hesychasteria from monasteria and the cells of anachoretæ. In the fourteenth century the word was applied to the mystics of Mount Athos (Herz. *Real-Enkyklop.* s. v.).

[2] Suicer. *Thesaur.* s. v.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BENEDICTINE RULE.

THE Benedictine order was founded by Benedictus of Nursia, who was born A.D. 480, and died probably 542. Even before the institution of the Benedictine Rule, monasticism was widely established in Southern and Western Europe, and was instrumental in spreading Christianity among the hordes which overran the prostrate Roman Empire. But there was as yet neither uniformity nor permanency of Rule.[1] In the words of Cassian, which seem to apply to occidental as well as oriental monachism, there were as many Rules as there were monasteries.[2]

In Italy, always very accessible to Greek influences, the Rule of Basil, which had been translated into Latin by Ruffinus,[3] was the favourite; in Southern Gaul and in Spain that of Cassian, or rather of Macarius; and as the Rule of Benedict worked its way into the north-west of Europe, it was confronted by the rival system of Columbanus. Like Aaron's rod, in the quaint language of the Middle Ages, it soon swallowed up the other Rules. But, in fact, there was often a great diversity of practice, even amongst those professing to follow the same Rule, often a medley of different Rules within the same walls,[1] and a succession of new Rules in successive years.[2]

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[1] Mab. *Act. O. S. B. Præf.*

[2] *Instit.* II. ii.

[3] *Præf. Reg. Bas.*

The Columbanists, for instance, were not, strictly speaking, a separate order.[3] The Benedictines may fairly be regarded as the first in time as well as in importance of the monastic orders. The Benedictine Rule gave stability to what had hitherto been fluctuating and incoherent. The hermit life had been essentially individualistic, and the monastic communities of Egypt and the East had been a mere aggregation, on however large a scale, of units, rather than a compact and a living organism, as of "many members in one body." Benedict seems to have felt keenly the need of a firm hand to control and regulate the manifold impulses, of one sort and another, which moved men to retire from the world.

There was a great deal of laxity and disorder among the monks of his day. He is very severe against the petty fraternities of the Sarabaitæ, monks dwelling two or three together in a "cell" or small monastery without any one at their head, and still more against the Gyrovagi monks, who led a desultory and unruly life, roving from one monastery to another. Unlike his Eastern predecessors, who looked up to utter solitude as the pinnacle of saintly excellence, Benedict, as if in later life regretting the excessive austerities of his youth, makes no mention at all of either hermits or anchorites.[1] Anything like anarchy offended his sense of order and congruity, and with his love of organizing he was the man to supply what he felt to be wanting.

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[1] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B. Præf.*
[2] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* I. xxix.
[3] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B. Præf.*

Accordingly, in Benedict's system the vow of self-addiction to the monastery became more stringent, and its obligation more lasting. Hitherto, it had been rather the expression of a resolution or of a purpose, than a solemn vow of perpetual perseverance.[2] But by his Rule[3] the vow was to be made with all possible solemnity in the chapel before the relics in the shrine, with the abbat and all the brethren standing by, and, once made, it was to be irrevocable. "Vestigia nulla retrorsum." The postulant for admission into the monastery had to deposit the memorial of his compact on the altar; and from that day to retrace his steps was morally impossible. The Rule contemplates, indeed, the possibility of a monk retrograding from his promise, and re-entering the world, which he had renounced, but only as an act of apostasy, committed at the instigation of the devil.[1] Previously, if a monk married, he was censured and sentenced to a penance,[2] but the marriage was not annulled as invalid. After the promulgation of the Rule, far heavier penalties were enacted.

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[1] *Prol. Reg. Bened.*

[2] Aug. *Ep. ad Mon.* cx. p. 587. Aug. *Rett. c. Jovinian.* ii. 22. Hieron. *Epp.* xviii. Cass. *Instit.* X. xxiii.

[3] lviii.

The monk who had broken his vow by marrying, was to be excommunicated, was to be separated by force from his wife, and might be forcibly reclaimed by his monastery; if a priest, he was to be degraded.[3] These severities were no part of Benedict's comparatively mild and lenient code, but they testify to his having introduced a much stricter estimation of the monastic vow. At the same time, as with a view to guard against this danger of relapse, Benedict wisely surrounded admission into his order with difficulties. He provided a year's noviciate, which was prolonged to two years in the next century,[4] and thrice, at certain intervals during this year of probation, the novice was to have the Rule read over to him, that he might weigh well what he was undertaking, and that his assent might be deliberate and unwavering.[5] The written petition for admission was required invariably.[1] None were to be received from other monasteries without letters commendatory from their abbat;[2] nor children without the consent of parents or guardians, nor unless formally disinherited.[3] Eighteen years of age was subsequently fixed as the earliest age for self-dedication. The gates of the monastery moved as slowly on their hinges at the knock of postulants for admission, as they inexorably closed upon him when once within the walls.[4]

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[1] LVIII.

[2] Basil. *Respons.* xxxvi. Leo. *Epp.* xc. (ad Rustic.) xii. Epiphan. *Hœr.* LXI. vii. Hieron. *Epp.* xcvii. (ad Dem.). Aug. *De Bon. Vid.* x. Gelas. *Epp.* v. (ad Episc. Lucan.) ap. Grut. *Caus.* XXVII. *Quœst.* I. xiv. *Conc. Aurel.* I. xxiii.

[3] Greg. M. *Epp.* I. xxxiii. xl. VII. ix. XII. xx. ap. Grat. xx. *Conc. Turon.* II. xv.

[4] Greg. M. *Epp.* X. xxiv.

[5] lviii.

Benedict had evidently the same object before his eyes, the consolidation of the fabric which he was erecting in the form of government which he devised for his order. This was a monarchy, and one nearer to despotism than to what is called a constitutional monarchy. Poverty, humility, chastity, temperance, all these had been essential elements in the monastic life from the first. Benedict, although he did not introduce the principle of obedience, made it more precise and more explicit;[5] he stereotyped it by regulations extending even to the demeanour and deportment due from the younger to the elder,[6] and crowned the edifice with an abbat irresponsible to his subjects. Strict obedience was exacted from the younger monks towards all their superiors in the monastery,[7] but the abbat was to be absolute over all.[1] He alone is called dominus in the Rule, though the word in its later form, domnus, became common to all Benedictines.[2] The monks had the right of electing him, without regard to seniority. Supposing a flagrantly scandalous election to be made, the bishop of the diocese, or the neighbouring abbats, or even the "Christians of the neighbourhood," might interfere to have it cancelled, but, once duly elected, his will was to be supreme.[3] He was indeed to convoke a council of the brethren when necessary; on any important occasions, of them all, otherwise only of the seniors; but in every case the final and irrevocable decision, from which there was no appeal, rested with him.[4] He was to have the appointment of the prior, or provost,[5] and of the deans, as well as the power of deposing them,[6] the prior after four, the deans after three warnings.[7]

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[1] lviii. [2] lxi. [3] lix.

[4] Cf. Fleury. *Hist. Ecc.* XXXV. xix. Note by Benedictine Editor (Aug. Vind. 1769).

[5] ii. iii. xxvii. lxiv.; cf. Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* III. viii.

[6] vii. lxiii. [7] lxviii—lxxi.

Benedict was evidently distrustful of any collision of authority, or want of perfect harmony between the abbat and his prior, and preferred deans, as more completely subordinate;[8] for while the abbat held his office for life, the deans as well as the other officers of the monastery, except the prior, held theirs for only a certain time.[9] Even the cellarer or steward, who ranked next to the abbat in secular things, as the prior in things spiritual, was to be appointed for one, four, or ten years; the tool-keepers, robe-keepers, &c. only for one. The abbat was armed with power to enforce his authority on the recalcitrant, after two admonitions in private and one in public, by the lesser excommunication, or banishment from the common table, and from officiating in the chapel; by the greater excommunication, or deprivation of the rites of the church; by flogging, by imprisonment and other bodily penances,[1] in cases of hardened offenders, and as an extreme penalty, by expulsion from the society. Benedict, however, with characteristic clemency, expressly cautions the abbat to deal tenderly with offenders,[2] allowing re-admission for penitents into the monastery, even after relapses, and, as though aware how much he is entrusting to the abbat's discretion, he begins and almost ends his Rule with grave and earnest cautions against abusing his authority.

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[1] iii. [2] lxiii. [3] lxiv. [4] iii.

[5] lxv.; cf. Greg. M. *Epp.* VII. x.

[6] xxi.; cf. Martene *Reg. Comm.* ad loc.; cf. *Conc. Mogunt.* xi.

[7] lxv. [8] lxv. [9] xxi. xxxi. xxxii.

Benedict's constitution was no mere democracy under the abbat. All ranks and conditions of men were indeed freely admitted, from the highest to the lowest,[3] and on equal terms;[4] within the monastery all the distinctions of their previous life vanished, the serf and the noble stood there side by side.[5] Thus even a priest whose claims to precedence, being of a spiritual nature, might have been supposed to stand on a different footing, had to take his place simply by order of seniority among the brethren,[1] though he might be allowed by the abbat to take a higher place in the chapel,[2] and might, as the lay brothers, be promoted by him above seniors in standing.[3] Similarly, a monk from another monastery was to have no especial privileges.[4] But, with all this levelling of distinctions belonging to the world without, the gradations of rank for the monks, as monks, were strictly defined. Every brother had his place assigned him in the monastic hierarchy. Such officers as those of the hebdomadary or weekly cook, of the lector or reader aloud in the refectory, were to be held by each in turn, unless by special exemption,[5] and the younger monks were enjoined to address the elder as fathers, in token of affectionate reverence.[6] Benedict seems to have had an equal dread of tyranny and of insubordination.

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[1] ii. xxiii—xxix.; cf. Martigny *De Ant. Mon. Rit.* II. xi. [2] xxvii.

[3] The restrictions and limitations in Martene *Reg. Comm.* are not in the Rule. [4] li.; cf. Aug. *De Op. Mon.* xxii. [5] ii.

Indeed, the strict obedience exacted by the Rule is tempered throughout by an elasticity and considerateness which contrast strongly with the inflexible rigour of similar institutions. Like the evangelic Sermon on the Mount, which he makes his model,[7] Benedict often lays down a principle without shaping it into details.

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[1] lx. [2] lxii. [3] lxiii.; cf. Fleury *Hist. Ecc.* XXXII. xv.

[4] lxi. [5] xxxv. xxxviii.

[6] Nonni; lxiii. [7] *Prol. Reg.* iv.

Thus, he enjoins silence as a wholesome discipline, without prescribing the times and places for it, beyond specifying the refectory and the dormitory.[1] Like Lycurgus, he wishes to bequeath to his followers a law which shall never be broken,[2] and yet, in the closing words of his Rule, he reminds them that the Rule, after all, is imperfect in itself.[3] More than once he seems to anticipate the day when his Order shall have assumed larger dimensions, and provides for monasteries on a grander scale than existed when he was writing his Rule.[4] Thus, about dress, as if foreseeing the varying requirements of various climes, he leaves a discretionary power to the abbat, affirming merely the unvarying principle that it is to be cheap and homely,[5] and that there are to be two dresses, the scapular or cape for field work, and the hood for study and prayer.[6] The colour of the tunic, or toga, being left undetermined by the founder, has varied at different times: till the eighth century it was usually white.[7] Nor is there any Procrustean stiffness in the directions about diet. Temperance, in the strictest sense, is laid down as the principle, but the abbat may relax the ordinary rules of quantity and quality;[8] more food is ordered whenever there is more work to be done;[9] meat is not allowed merely, but enjoined, for the sick,[1] for the young or aged,[2] as well as for guests, who may chance to be lodging in the monastery,[3] and even wine, forbidden by Eastern ascetics, is allowed sparingly by Benedict, as if in concession to the national propensities imported into Italy by the barbarians, and to the colder climate of Northern Europe.[4] Even those more minute rules, in which Benedict evinces his love of order, proportion, and clock-like regularity,—and which show that Benedict, like Wesley, wished to direct everything—originate almost always in a wise and tender regard for human weaknesses. The day is mapped out in its round of duties, so that no unoccupied moments may invite temptations,[5] but the hours allotted for work, prayer, or rest vary with the seasons. Benedict takes especial delight in arranging how the Psalter is to be read through, ordering certain Psalms on certain holy days, but he leaves it open to his followers to make a better distribution if they can.[6] The first Psalm is to be recited slowly, but this is to give the brethren time to assemble in their oratory. The monk who serves as cook is, during his week of office, to take his meals before the rest;[7] the cellarer, or steward, is to have fixed hours for attending to the wants of the brethren, that there may be no vexation nor disappointment;[8] a

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[1] vi. [2] lxiv. [3] lxxiii.

[4] xxxi. xxxii. liii. [5] lv.

[6] x.; cf. Fleury *Hist. Ecc.* XXXII. xvi.

[7] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* III. [8] xl. [9] xxxix.

[1] xxxvi.
[2] xxxvii.
[3] xlii.
[4] xl.
[5] xlviii.
[6] xv. xviii.
[7] xxxv.
[8] xxxi.

list is to be kept by the abbat of all the tools and dresses belonging to the monastery, lest there be any confusion;[1] the monks are to sleep only ten or twelve in the same dormitory, with curtains between the beds, and under the charge of a dean, for the sake of order and propriety;[2] the historical books of the Old Testament were not to be read the last thing before going to bed, as unedifying to weak brethren;[3] and, last and least, no monk is to take the knife, which was part of his monastic equipment, with him to bed, lest he should hurt himself in his sleep.[4] But it is, above all, in the treatment of weaker brethren, the "infirm" or "pusillanimous," that the Rule breathes a mildness rare indeed in those days. The abbat is to "love the offender, even while hating the offence"; he is to "beware lest he break the vessel in scouring it"; he is to let "mercy prevail over justice."[5] A whole chapter[6] is devoted to meting out the degrees of correction for monks coming late to chapel or refectory, and in this, unlike Wesley, Benedict expressly discourages the public confession of secret faults, a practice inevitably tending to unreality and irreverence,[7] as well as loud and demonstrative private prayer in the chapel.[8] There is something peculiarly characteristic of Benedict's gentle and courteous spirit in his repeated cautions against murmuring on the one hand,[1] and, on the other, against anything like scurrility.[2]

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[1] xxxii.
[2] xxii.
[3] xlii.
[4] xxii.
[5] lxiv.
[6] xliii.
[7] xlvi.
[8] lii.

Compared with Eastern rules, the Benedictine Rule is an easy yoke :[3] and this may be attributed partly to the more practical temperament of the West, partly to the exigencies of European climates, partly, too, to the personal character of the lawgiver.

Taking the passage in the Psalms, "Seven times a day will I praise Thee," and another, "At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto Thee," as his motto, he portioned out day and night into an almost unceasing round of prayer and praise.[4] But, whereas his predecessors had ordered the whole of the Psalter to be recited daily, Benedict, though with a sigh of regret for the degeneracy of his age, was content that it should be gone through in the week.[5] There is a curious direction, too, against lengthy private devotions, especially in chapel after service.[6] In harvest-time, or if they were far from home, the monks were to say their devotions in the field, to save the time and trouble of returning to the monastery.[7] Whatever ascetic austerities were introduced at a later date into some of the reformed Benedictine Orders, we find no trace at all in the original Rule of those ingenious varieties of self-torture which had been so common in Egypt and Syria. Benedict shows no love of self-mortification for its own sake; and, while prizing it in moderation as a discipline, makes it subservient to other practical purposes. Thus he orders some more suitable occupation to be allotted to such of the brethren as may be incapacitated in any way from hard work out of doors.[1] The diet allowed by the Benedictine Rule must have seemed luxurious to the monks of the East.[2]

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[1] xxxi. xl. xli. liii.

[2] xliii. xlix. etc.

[3] Ser. Sulp. *Vit. S. Martini*, I. vii. ; Cass. *Instit.* I. xi. xxxix. xl. xlvi. etc.

[4] xvi

[5] xviii.

[6] xx.

[7] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* III. viii.

But the great distinction of Benedict's Rule was the substitution of study for the comparative uselessness of mere manual labour. Not that his monks were to be less laborious; rather they were to spend more time in work; but their work was to be less servile, of the head as well as of the hand, beneficial to future ages, not merely furnishing sustenance for the bodily wants of the community, or for almsgiving.[3] As if conscious of his innovation Benedict seems to restrict the word "labour," as heretofore, to manual occupations; to these he still devoted the larger part of the day; and the range of his literature is a narrow one, specifying by name only the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers.[4] But by reserving some portion for study, he implanted the principle, which afterwards bore glorious fruits in the history of his order, that liberal arts and sciences were to be for them not permitted merely, but sanctioned and encouraged.[1] It is a question how far Benedict is indebted for this to Cassiodorus, his contemporary, wrongfully claimed by some zealous Benedictines as one of their order.[2] But the "Vivarium" which Cassiodorus founded in Calabria seems to have been more like an university, or even the intellectual and artistic court over which Frederick II. presided in Italy during the thirteenth century, more genial in its tone, and wider in its range of studies.[3] Probably Benedict and his more secular contemporary were alike affected by the same impulses, inherited from the expiring literature of Imperial Rome.

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[1] xlviii.

[2] xxxix.

[3] xxxviii. xliii.; cf. Cass. *Instit.* X. xxiii. Hier. *Epp.* xviii. xxii. (ad Eustoch.).

[4] ix. xlviii.

A monk's day, according to the Rule, was an alternation of work, manual or mental, and prayer, with the short intervals necessary for food and rest.[4] In winter the middle of the day, and in summer the morning and evening, were for manual labour; for study, the heat of the day in summer, and the dusk and darkness of morning and evening in the short days of winter.[5] After the mid-day meal in summer, the monk might take his siesta, or a book.[6] The seven hours for divine service were those called "canonical"; and the services were matins (afterwards called lauds) at sunrise (in summer), prime, tierce, sext, nones, vespers, compline, separated each from each by three hours, and a midnight service, a little before the matins, called in the Rule "night-watch."[1] On Sunday the monk was to rise earlier, and to have longer "night-watch,"[2] and was to substitute reading for a manual work.[3] Each service was to include a certain number of Psalms (often selected with especial reference to the time of day, as the third for nocturns), of canticles, of lections, or readings from Holy Scripture or from the Fathers.[4] On Sunday and holy days all the brethren were to receive the Holy Communion.[5] The precise times for the several avocations of the monastic day were to vary with the four seasons, both of the natural and of the Christian year.[6] The work or the book for the time was to be assigned to each at the discretion of the abbat.[7] The evening meal was to be taken all the year round before dark.[8] As the monk had to rise betimes, so his thoughtful legislator would have him retire early to rest.

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[1] xlviii.

[2] Mign. *Patrol.* lxxix. 483.

[3] Cassiod. *De Instit. Div. Litt.* xxviii. xxx. xxxi.

[4] "Opus Dei, divinum officium: labor et lectio." Cf. Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* III. viii.; Fleury *Hist. Ecc.* XXXII. xv. et seq.

[5] viii. xlviii.

[6] xlviii.

Chapters i-vii in the Rule are on the monastic character generally—obedience, humility, &c.; viii-xx on divine service; xxi-xxx on deans and the correction of offenders; xxxi-xli on the cellarer and his department, especially the refectory; xlii-lii are chiefly on points relating either to the oratory or to labour. The remaining twenty-one rules hardly admit of classification, being miscellaneous, and supplementary to those preceding.

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[1] xvi.
[2] xi.
[3] xlviii.
[4] viii. etc.
[5] xxv.
[6] viii. etc.
[7] xlviii.
[8] xli.

On the whole, the Benedictine Rule, as a Rule for monks, must be pronounced, by all who view it dispassionately, well worthy of the high praise which it has received, not from monks only, but from statesmen and others. "First and foremost in discretion, and clear in style," is the appropriate comment on it of Gregory the Great.[1] In the seventh century the observance of it was enjoined on all monks by the council at Autun,[2] and later by Lewis the Pious.[3] It is commonly entitled in councils "the holy Rule";[4] and by a council in the ninth century it is directly attributed to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.[5] By one writer it is contrasted with previous rules as the teaching of Christ with that of Moses.[6] It was a favourite alike with Thomas Aquinas, as a manual of morality, and with the politic Cosmo de Medici, as a manual for Rulers.[7] Granted the very questionable position, that the life of a monk, with its abdication of social and domestic duties, is laudable, Benedict's conception of that life, in principle and in detail, is almost unexceptionable. His monks are indeed treated throughout as simply children of an older growth; they may not even walk abroad;[1] nor, if sent outside the precincts, may they stop anywhere to eat, without the abbat's leave;[2] nor may they even receive letters from home.[3] The prescribed washing of strangers' feet,[4] and the very strict prohibition against a monk possessing anything, however trifling, of any sort to call his own, are all part of this extension into maturer years of a discipline proper for children. But, if treated as children, the followers of Benedict were at any rate under a wise and sympathizing master; and the school where they were to be trained in humility and obedience was not one of needless and vexatious mortifications. Order, proportion, regularity, these are the characteristics of the Rule; with an especial tenderness for the feebler brethren. As in all monastic institutions, self-love seems to force its way through all the barriers raised around it, tinging even the holiest actions with a mercenariness of intention.[5] Thus the motive proposed for waiting sedulously on the sick is the recompense which may be won by so doing.[6] But the Rule appeals also, though less expressly, to higher motives than the fear of punishment or the hope of reward, to the love of God and of man.[7] It cannot be said of Benedict's Rule, as of solitary asceticism, that self is the circumference as well as the centre of the circle. The relations of the brethren to their father, and to one another, tend, in the

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[1] *Dial.* II. xxxvi.

[2] *Conc. Augustod.* xv.

[3] *Exh. ad Eigil. Abb. Fuld.* ap. Migne *Præf. Reg.*

[4] Migne *Præf. Reg.*

[5] *Conc. Duziac.* ii.

[6] Gaufr. Abb. Vindocin. *Sermo de S B.* ap. Migne *Præf. Reg.*

[7] Abp. Butler *Lives of the Saints*, s. v. *Bened.:* cf. Guerauger, *Enchirid. Bened. Præf.*

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[1] lxvii.
[2] li.
[3] li.
[4] liii.
[5] Prol. etc.
[6] xxxvii.
[7] *E.g.* Prol.

Rule, to check that isolation of the heart from human sympathies which is the bane of monasticism. If there is a disregard of the claims of the outer world, at all events something like the ties of family is duly recognized within the order, hallowing even the trivial details of daily life. The monastery is the house of God; and even its commonest utensils are holy things. Benedict disclaims for man either any merit in keeping the divine law, or any power to do so without help from heaven.[1]

In style the Rule is clear and concise; largely interspersed with apposite quotations from the Scriptures, especially the Psalms. But its Latinity is very unclassical, not only in syntax, but in single words.[2] In this respect the Rule contrasts unfavourably with Cassian's comparatively accurate and polished style. The text may have been corrupted; but there seems to have been a serious deterioration in Latin literature during the fifth century.

With the lapse of time, the right meaning of many passages in the Rule gave rise to violent controversies. Its very brevity and conciseness were themselves the occasion of uncertainty, frequently enhanced by the changes of meaning which the same word often passes through in successive periods. Whether such phrases as "communio" and "missa" are to be taken in their more technical and ritualistic sense, or merely for "charity" and the "termination of divine service," whether "excommunicatio" means the greater or the lesser sentence of deprivation,[1] whether "clerici"[2] means deacons as well as priests, all these have been questions with commentators and reformers. "Matutini" in the Rule is said to correspond with the service afterwards known as "Laudes," and "Laudes" in the Rule to mean the three last Psalms, all commencing "Laudate."[3] "Prior" seems in one place,[4] where the younger brethren are ordered to salute the "priors," to mean merely older, at least in precedence, while in another place,[5] which treats of obedience, it seems to mean those in office. There is some ambiguity about the several articles of dress prescribed,[6] and still more about the diet. "Mixtum"[7] is supposed by some to mean "wine and water," by others "wine and bread," and it is a vexed question whether eggs and fish, birds and fowls, as well as "pulse," are included in the word "pulmentum."[8] The enactment that "even a small part" of the brethren may elect the abbat is variously explained, as meaning either a minority, in certain circumstances, or, more probably, "a majority, however small,"[1] and another provision in the next chapter, that "a council of the brethren" is to take part in electing the prior, is vague both as to the size of the council and the extent of its powers.[2] A distinction, familiar to Roman Catholic casuists, has been drawn by some commentators between the "precepts" and "counsels" in the opening words of the Prologue to the Rule, and, however that may be, an opinion has prevailed, that the spirit rather than the letter of the Rule is to be observed, and that it is not strictly obligatory in its lesser details.[3] But the hottest dispute has been on the permissibility of secular studies for the brethren. In the seventeenth century Mabillon and others argued against their Trappist opponents, that, though not mentioned expressly, these studies are implied and involved in the Rule, that as the order in time came to consist more and more largely of students, and as Latin became to them a dead language, instead of being one with which they were habitually familiar, such pursuits became for them an absolute necessity.[4]

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[1] Prol.

[2] *E.g.*, "odire" for "odisse," iv., "typus," for pride or circumlocution, xxxi, etc. (a) xxxi.

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[1] xxiv, xxv.
[2] lxii.
[3] Fleury *Hist. Ecc.* XXXII. xix.
[4] lxiii.
[5] lxviii.
[6] lv.
[7] xxxviii.
[8] Mart. *Comm. in Reg.* xxxviii. lv. Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* I. liii, XIII. ii, XIV. xlvi.

The Rule of Benedict soon reigned alone in Europe, absorbing into itself the Rule of Columban, which had prevailed in Western Europe.[1] In Italy it was accepted generally before the close of the century in which Benedict died.[2] It was probably introduced into Gaul during his lifetime by his disciple Maurus, from whom the famous monastery of St. Maur claims its name, and there it soon made its way, mainly through the elasticity, which contrasted with the rigidity of the rival system. Thus Faremoutier transferred itself from the Rule of Columban to that of Benedict.[3] The Council of Aachen in 788 A.D. ordered the Benedictine Rule to be observed, and no other, in the Empire of Charles and his son.[4] It won Germany early in the ninth century,[5] and Spain in the next century.[6] It is a question at what date it was introduced into England, whether by Benedict Biscop, by Wilfred,[7] or, as Mabillon and other learned writers have asserted,[8] by Augustine, importing it from the monastery of S. Andrea on the Cælian Hill, under the auspices of Gregory. A lax Rule probably prevailed till the time of Dunstan.[9] In the tenth century the Benedictine Rule held almost universal sway in Europe,[1] and, wherever it penetrated, it was the pioneer, not of Christianity only, but of civilization and of all humanizing influences. For their labours in clearing forests, and draining swamps, for setting an example of good husbandry, as well as for fostering what little there was of learning and refinement in that troublous and dreary period, a debt of gratitude is due to them, which can not easily be overrated.

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[1] *Comm. in Reg.* lxiv.

[2] lxv.

[3] Note by Ed. on Fleury *Hist. Ecc.* XXXII. xii. (Aug. Vind. 1769), cf. Bern. *De Præc.* et *Dispens. Patrol.* clxxii. Petr. Clun. *Epp.* I. xxviii. IV. xvii. *Patrol.* clxxxix. Hospin. *De Monachatu* pp. 132—134.

[4] Mab. *Breve Script. de Mon. Stud. Rat.*; cf. Maitland's *Dark Ages* 158—171.

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[1] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* Præf. I. xiii. V. xi.

[2] Ioan. Diac. *Vita Greg. M.* iv. 80.

[3] A. Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, s. v. Fara.

[4] *Conc. Aquisgran.*; cf. *Conc. Augustod.* xv.

[5] *Conc. Mogunt.* xi.; cf. Pertz *Legg.* I. 166, c. xi.

[6] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* Præf. iv. Sæc.

[7] Lingard *Ang.-Sax. Church*, V.

[8] A. Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, S. Benedict.

[9] Marsham, Pref. to Dugd. *Monastic. Anglic.*; cf. *Conc. Clovesh.* 747 A.D.

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[1] Pellic. *Pollit. Ecc. Chr.* I. iii. 1, § 4.

CHAPTER VII.

VARIETIES OF THE MONASTIC LIFE.

Cassian in his account of the different kinds of monks in Egypt, condemns the sarabaitæ who dwelt together in small groups of cells without rule or superior. The same distrust of what inevitably tended to disorder and license is shown in the decrees of Western Councils.

The gyrovagi were vagabond monks reprobated by monastic writers. Benedict, in the very commencement of his Rule, excludes them from consideration, as unworthy the name of monks.[1] He pronounces them worse even than the sarabaitæ or remoboth,[2] who, though living together by twos and threes without rule or discipline, at any rate were stationary, and built themselves cells: whereas the gyrovagi were always roving from one monastery to another. After staying three or four days in one monastery, they would start again for another; (for after a few days' rest it was usual for strangers to be subjected to the discipline of the monastery, to the same fare, labour, &c. as the inmates:[1]) always endeavouring, like casual paupers in modern England, to ascertain where in the neighbourhood they would be most likely to find comfortable quarters.[2] Martene and Ménard[3] identify these gyrovagi with the "circumcelliones" or "circelliones." They were of importance enough to be condemned in one of the canons of the Trullan council, A.D. 692, and are there described as wandering about in black robes and with unshorn hair; they are to be chased away into the desert unless they will consent to enter a monastery, to have their hair trimmed, and in other ways to submit to discipline.[4] Bingham[5] and Hospinian[6] merely repeat what is contained in the Rule of Benedict.

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[1] Bened. *Reg.* i.

[2] Hieron. *Epp.* xxii. (ad Eustoch.) xxxiv.

The motive for withdrawing from a monastery to one of the little cells clustering round it was, it would seem, a desire, sometimes for solitude, sometimes for a less austere mode of life. Each cell had a small garden or vineyard in which the monk could occupy himself at pleasure.[7] But sometimes the "Cellita" was a monk with aspirations after more than ordinary self-denial. Thus it was a custom at Vienna, in the sixth century, for some monk selected as pre-eminent in sanctity, to be immured in a solitary cell as an intercessor for the people.[1]

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[1] Martene *Reg. Comm.* ad loc.

[2] *Reg. Magst.* ii.; cf. Isidor. Pelus. *Epp.* I. xli. Joan. Climac. *Scal. Grad.* xxvii.

[3] Bened. Anian. *Concord. Regul.* ii.

[4] *Conc. Quinisext.* xlii.

[5] *Orig. Ecc.* ii. § 12.

[6] *De Orig. Monach.* i.

[7] Du Cange, *s. v.*

A strict rule for "Cellitæ" was drawn up in the ninth century by Grimlac or Grimlaicus, probably a monk in or near Metz about the end of that century.[2] Their cells were to be near the monastery, either standing apart one from another, or communicating only by a window. The "Cellitæ" were to be supported by their own works, or by alms: they might be either clergy or laymen. If professed monks, they were to wear the dress of the order: if not, a cape as a badge. None were to be admitted among the "Cellitæ" except by the bishop or the abbat, nor without a noviciate. They were to have their own chapel for mass, and a window in the wall of the church, through which they might assist at the services, and receive the confession of penitents. A seal was to be set by the bishop on the door of each cell, never to be broken except in urgent sickness for the necessary medical and spiritual comfort.[1]

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[1] Mabill. *Ann. O. S. B.* IV. xliv. VII. lvii.

[2] The Rule seems intended, not for a separate Order, but for the "inclusi" generally. The word "cella" (κελλίον Soz. *Hist. Ecc.* VI. xxxi. Cf. Gregor. M. *Dialog.* II. xxxiv.), originally meaning the cave, den, or separate cell of each recluse, soon came to be applied to their collective dwelling-place; in this resembling the term monasterium, which signified at first a hermit's solitary abode, and subsequently the abode of several monks together. "Cella" in its later use was applied even to larger monasteries, but usually to the off-shoots or dependencies of the old foundation (Mabill. *Ann. O. S. B.* V. vii. Du Cange, *s. v.*) "affiliated to the mother-house, as a branch in Bombay of a great firm established in London" (Dr. Jessop). "Cellula" is used for a monastery by Gregory of Tours (*Hist.* VI. viii. xxix. etc.). In the Rule of Fructuosus "cella" stands for the "black-hole," the place of confinement for offenders against the discipline (Mabill. *Ann. O. S. B.* XIII. xli.). The *Regula Agaunensis* forbade separate cells for the monks; but it is not clear whether this prohibition refers to cells within the walls or to the cells outside.

It happened sometimes, particularly in the monasteries of Provence and Languedoc, that one of the brethren most advanced in asceticism was immured in a separate cell, sometimes underground, always in the precincts, as an intercessor for the monastery. After a solemn religious ceremony the devotee, thus buried alive by his own consent, was left with no other apparel than what he was wearing to end his days alone. The doorway was walled up, or the door nailed to, and sealed with the bishop's ring, whose consent, as well as that of the abbat and chapter, was requisite. Only a little aperture was left, not such as to allow the inmate to see or be seen, for letting down provisions to him.[1]

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[1] Helyot *Diss. Prel.* v. Bulteau *Hist. de l'Ordre S. B.* I. ii. 21. "Cellulanus" has been supposed equivalent to "cellita." It is used by Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epp.* IX. iii. (ad. Faust.), for the Lerinensian monks. According to Du Cange it sometimes means a monk sharing a cell with another "syncellita."

The inclusi were monks either of long experience or of delicate health.[2] They were subject to the control of the abbat, but not to the ordinary rules of the monastery.[3]

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[1] These inclusi are not to be confounded with the aged or sickly monks, allowed separate cells because of their infirmities.

[2] *Conc. Agath.* A.D. 506, xxxviii.

[3] Martene *Reg. Comm.* i. Ménard *Concord. Regul.* V. vi.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE AGGRANDISEMENT OF MONASTERIES.

During the period of confusion and turbulence in Europe, which followed the crash of Rome under the onset of the barbarians, and before the disintegrated empire had been reconstructed by the strong grasp of Charles the Great, the monks were everywhere the champions of order against lawless violence, of the weak and the defenceless against the brute force of the oppressor. Again and again they confronted kings and nobles without fear and without favour, as Columbanus for instance, among the Franks, rebuked the profligacy of the Merovingian princes. The proudest monarch, the most reckless of his barons, abased himself before the mysterious attributes of the pale emaciated recluse, coming forth like a phantom from his cell, or at least affected the friendship of so powerful an ally.

The cloister, always a sanctuary and asylum for the friendless and unfortunate, became, in an age when even the tenure of the throne was very precarious, a convenient place for the incarceration of those whom it was desirable to put out of the way without killing. What had been at first in many cases involuntary, came to be prized for its own sake. Clothilde, the widow of Clovis, in the sixth century, when threatened with death or the tonsure for her sins, preferred "death before degradation." In the eighth century two ex-kings, Carloman the Frank, and Rachis the Lombard, sought and found shelter at the same moment, by their own choice, in the monastery of Monte Casino. Louis, the successor of Charles the Great on the throne of the Franks, was only dissuaded by his nobles (819 A.D.) from becoming a monk: fourteen years later he was compelled by his sons to retire to the monastery of St. Medard at Soissons. The list of sovereigns who from the fifth to the tenth century, either by constraint or by choice, became monks, is a long one. Distinguished offenders among the Franks had the option of being shut up in a monastery, or of undergoing the usual canonical penances.[1]

Early in the sixth century, for the first time, according to Mabillon, criminal priests or deacons were sentenced by a council in the south-east of France to incarceration in a monastery.[2]

In the seventh century, in the words of the great historian of the Western Church, "the peaceful passion for monachism had become a madness which seized on the most vigorous, sometimes the fiercest souls. Monasteries arose in all quarters, and gathered their tribute of wealth from all lands."[1]

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[1] *Capit. Reg. Franc.* VI. lxxi. xc. VII. lix.

[2] *Conc. Epaon.* A.D. 517, iii. Greg. M. *Epp.* VIII. x.

Under the fostering care of the great Charles, monasteries were not merely a shelter and a refuge from social storms, and a centre from which radiated over fen and forest the humanizing influences of the farm and the garden, but schools of useful learning, according to the requirements and capacities of the period. Already, under the Merovingians, sons of princes (for instance, Meroveus, son of Chilperic) had been sent to monasteries to be taught.[2] Charles made many and liberal grants of land to the monasteries, and his monk-loving son gave even more bountifully. But fine buildings and wide domains, besides attracting the cupidity of the spoiler, brought with them the pride and the luxury which follow in the train of wealth and prosperity.[3] Abbats too often took advantage of the absence of neighbouring barons on military service to seize their fiefs, stepping into their place, and becoming themselves feudal chieftains. But they were not content with the comparatively limited jurisdiction of their predecessors. The recognized appeal to the king in their case soon fell into desuetude, they assumed a position above their feudal peers as suzerain lords: and on the principle that a thing once devoted to God becomes His only, His always, His altogether, they claimed various immunities for their lands from the ordinary tolls and taxes. "Their estates were held on the same tenure" as those of the lay nobility: "they had been invested in them, especially in Germany, according to the old Teutonic law of conquest." "Abbacies were, in the strictest sense, benefices." Abbats "took the same oath with other vassals on a change of sovereign. Abbats and abbesses were bound to appear at the Herrbann of the sovereign."[1] Though the abbats themselves were forbidden to carry arms, and took their oath of fealty as counsellors, their retainers were as much bound to follow the king in his wars as those of his lay vassals. The first instance recorded of a fighting abbat is that of Warnerius, in his breastplate and other accoutrements, taking an active part in the defence of Rome against the Lombards in the eighth century.[2] Abbats, not unnaturally perhaps, in circumstances like these, grew rapidly less and less distinct in their manner of life from their compeers, the lay aristocracy around them.[3] Their illustrious patron had to repress their hunting and hawking propensities, ordering them to do their shooting and their other field sports by deputy, in the person of the lay brothers,[1] and he denounced severely monks who are lazy and careless. He reserved to himself the appointment of the great abbats. Under the feebler sway of his successors monasteries became more and more secular.

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[1] Milman *Lat. Chr.* II. 435.

[2] Mab. *O. S. B.* III. liv.

[3] Milman *Lat. Chr.* III. 79.

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[1] Milman *Lat. Chr.* III. 82.

[2] *Ibid.*, III. 22.

[3] So, before the Dissolution in England, abbats and priors generally resembled country gentlemen in their way of living.

The younger and the illegitimate sons of noble or royal families came to regard the richer abbeys as their patrimony, and resented the intrusion of men of lower birth into these high places of the Church. And though then, as always, in spite of every discouragement, genius and piety sometimes forced their way to the front, and though sometimes baser arts won preferment, the larger ecclesiastical fiefs passed so generally into the hands of the nobles, as to make the great abbats almost a caste.[2]

[1] *Capit. Car. M.* A.D. 769, iii.; A.D. 802, I. xix.

[2] Milman *Lat. Chr.* III. 88.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MONKS AND THE CLERGY.

THE relation of the monks to the clergy and the jealous rivalries between the monasteries and the secular clergy are very remarkable. Originally monks were regarded as laymen, although even from the first there were instances of persons becoming monks after being ordained. As monks, all ranked collectively with the lay, not the clerical part of the Christian community. The term "clerici" was applied not only to the clergy properly so called, but to the numerous officials connected with the Church in various secular capacities, as bursars, doorkeepers, &c. Accordingly, the monk, even if he were not himself a layman, was naturally classed with laymen, as being unconnected with ecclesiastical offices of any sort. Monks, for their part, were more than content to be so regarded. It was one of their axioms that a monk should shun the company of a bishop as he would the company of a woman, lest he should be ordained perforce and against his own free will, for monks were in request for the diaconate or the priesthood, as well as abbats for the office of bishop.[1] Nor had the monks any cause to be ambitious of ecclesiastical dignities. In the fifth century they took precedence of deacons:[2] and in the East their archimandrites had places in the councils of the Church.[3] But, like other barriers between the monk and his fellow-men, this demarcation between monks and clergy became less strongly marked after the fourth century: the gradual relaxation of primitive austerity in the monastery being partly the cause and partly the result of this mutual approximation of the one to the other.[4] Other causes also were at work. The monastery was often a nursery or training-college for the clergy.[5] On the one hand, dioceses needed clergy, besides the parochial clergy, for missionary work: on the other hand, the monastery liked to have one priest at least, if not more than one, as a resident chaplain. The illiterate clergy looked naturally to the nearest monastery for help in the composition of sermons. Deacons, though forbidden to preach, were allowed to read homilies in church: and these were furnished in case of need by the monks, (according to a custom not peculiar to any age or country,) who were, sometimes at least, learned in comparison with the country clergy.[1] And they who were thus assisting the clergy in their work, affected not unreasonably a clerical costume. More than one council in the sixth century made its enactment against monks wearing the "orarium," or stole, and against their wearing boots or buskins instead of their own rude sandals.[2] Sometimes, at first generally, the spiritual wants of the monastery were supplied by the bishop sending a priest, at the abbat's request, to perform mass at stated times; sometimes by a priest being appointed to reside in the monastery; sometimes by one of the monks themselves being ordained.[3] On festivals the monks usually resorted to their parish church.[4]

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[1] Cass. *Inst.* XI. xvii. Bingham *Orig. Ecc.* IV. vii. After the fifth century bishops were frequently chosen from among the monks.

[2] Epiphan. *Hær.* lxviii.

[3] *Conc. C.P.* I. *Conc. Eph.*, *Conc. Chalced.*

[4] Hieron. *Ep. ad Eustoch.*

[5] Hieron. *Ep. ad Rust.* Cf. *Conc. Vasens.* A.D. 529.

One of the hardest tasks of successive popes was to regulate and adjust the rival claims of their monks and their clergy. Gregory the Great, like his distinguished predecessor Leo, seems to have laboured to prevent either party from intruding beyond its own proper province, into the duties and privileges of the other. He forbade monks to officiate without leave outside their walls.[5] He forbade the parochial clergy to retreat at pleasure from their cures to the quietness and leisure of a monastery. He ordered baptisteries to be removed from monasteries. He discouraged clerical abbats; and he censured the parochial clergy, who either entered a monastery or quitted it without their bishop's sanction. Sometimes, however, he transferred the charge of a church neglected by the parochial clergy to the monks of the adjoining monastery, on condition that they should provide accommodation among themselves for a priest who should act as their vicar.[1] After the sixth century monks began to be classed in popular estimation with the clergy,[2] and the ecclesiastical policy of the great Carlovingian legislator in the eighth century, by subjecting the abbats to the jurisdiction of the bishops and archbishops, unintentionally favoured this notion. A council at Rome, A.D. 827, ordered abbats to be in priest's orders[3]; a council at Aachen about the same time permitted them to admit any of their monks into minor orders; another at Mainz soon afterwards permitted them to hold benefices.

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[1] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* III. lvi.

[2] *Conc. Agath.* A.D. 506. *Conc. Aurel.* I. A.D. 511. *Conc. Epaon.* A.D. 517. Cf. *Conc. Laodic.* A.D. 361.

[3] Greg. M. *Epp.* pass.

[4] Alteser. *Ascet.* I. ii.

[5] Cf. Leo I. *Epp.* cxviii. cxix.

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[1] *Epp.* I. xl. III. xviii. lix. IV. xviii.

[2] Mab. *Act. O. S. B.* Præf. Sæc. II.

[3] *Conc. Rom.* xxvi. *Conc. Aquisgr.* A.D. 817, lx. *Conc. Mogunt.* A.D. 827. Abbats, like other monks, were usually laymen, partly through clerical jealousy, till, in the East, about the beginning of the sixth century, and in the West, about two centuries later. Even while laymen, abbats sometimes signed at councils; abbesses more rarely. Keltic abbats were clergy (*Dict. Chr. Antiq.* I. 3, 4, etc.). Columba remained always a presbyter-abbat. In Ireland the abbat was a greater personage than the bishop, every monastery having a bishop (as a queen-bee, it has been said) episcopal for purposes.

Monks were the predominating element in the synods of the ninth century, sometimes sitting apart from the clergy in a separate chapter.[1]

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries more than one council prohibited monks from having charge of parishes; but Innocent III., their patron and champion, sanctioned their officiating even in parishes where they had no domicile or residence. Gregory of Tours uses the terms *monachi* and *clerici* indiscriminately. But the long-standing rivalry between the monks and clergy lasted on, notwithstanding this superficial fusion, or rather all the more acrimoniously, because of their being brought more frequently into collision.

The right of the bishop to exercise jurisdiction over the monasteries in his diocese, and the limits within which his authority might be exercised, were a constant cause of irritation on both sides. The struggle between bishop and abbat was through the history of monasticism: council after council endeavoured to arbitrate, but fresh occasions of strife arose continually. So long as the monk was regarded distinctly as a layman there was less danger of rivalry.

In the earlier stage of their existence, monasteries generally availed themselves gladly of the patronage of the bishop of the diocese, but as they increased in wealth and power, they struggled to emancipate themselves from his control. For instance, towards the close of the sixth century, the abbess of Ste. Croix at Poitiers, after the death of Radegundis the foundress, who had become one of the nuns, requested the bishop to take the convent under his protection. After some hesitation, on account of the royal rank of the foundress, or because she had placed the convent under royal jurisdiction, he consented "to govern it as the rest of his parishes."[1] On the other hand, in the middle of the seventh century, or later, for the exact date of the deed is uncertain, a monastery at Vienna, apparently of monks and nuns under one constitution, obtained absolute exemption from the bishop's authority. By this deed no bishop had any claim to any property of the monastery, no bishop, unless by invitation of the abbat or abbess, could consecrate altars or admit nuns, nor was any fee to be required for performing these ceremonies: and the diocesan was not to hinder any appeal of the monastery to the see of Rome.[2]

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[1] *AA. SS.* Jun. II. xxii. S Minuerc.

In another fragment, cited by Mabillon in the same place, no bishop even by invitation was allowed to enter the more private parts of the convent; nor was any bishop to be entertained in the convent, lest he should be an expense and a distraction to the inmates, nor to interfere with the abbess in the correction of the nuns, for she was to be responsible only to the apostolic see. Instances might easily be multiplied of the almost continual collision in Western Christendom between the bishops and the monasteries in their dioceses, in which the monasteries almost invariably had the support of the Pope, and frequently of the royal authority.[1]

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[1] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* VII. xxxix. xl. Greg. Turon. *Hist.* IX. xlvi.

[2] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* XIII. ii. Cf. App. Tom. I.

The same struggle was going on at the same time in the East.[2] The council of Chaledon (A.D. 451) enacted that the bishop of each city should superintend its monasteries according to "the traditions of the fathers," that every refractory monk should be excommunicated, that no monk should enter the city of Constantinople (already the monks had caused disturbances there) without the bishop's permission, and that the consecration of the monastery by the bishop should be the guarantee against its being secularized. The Emperor in the seventh century granted to the monasteries of Theodorus Siceota exemption from all episcopal control, except of Constantinople.[3] Africa, always notorious already for the turbulence of its monks, raised the standard of revolt. One of the abbats in the diocese of Byrsa, having been excommunicated by his own bishop, Liberatus, appealed to the Bishop of Carthage, metropolitan in the proconsular province of Carthage.[4] At a synod in Carthage (A.D. 525), presided over by

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[1] Mart. *Reg. Bened. Comm.* ap. Migne *Patrol. Lat.* LXVI. pp. 839, 840.

[2] *Conc. Chalced.* iv. viii. xxiii. xxiv.

[3] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* XIV. xxiii.

[4] Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v. Primas.

Bonifacius, bishop of Carthage, in right of his see, sentence was pronounced in favour of the abbat. Indeed, in their desire to prevent any intrusion on the part of Liberatus, that council went so far as to lay down the rule, that monasteries, being as heretofore entirely exempt from the obligations which restrain the clergy, should be guided only by their own sense of what is right, and this decision was confirmed by a synod nine years later in the same city.[1] Mabillon thinks that this right of appeal to another bishop, involving for the monastery the right of choosing its own visitor, was a security against episcopal oppression. A similar dispute between Faustus, abbat of Lerins, and Theodorus, bishop of Fréjus, was settled at Arles far more equitably. There it was enacted that clerical monks should obey the bishop in questions relating to their office as clergy, while lay monks should obey their abbat only; on the one hand, that no one should officiate in the monastery except as delegated by the bishop, and on the other, that the bishop should never receive any lay-brother to ordination without the consent of the abbat.[2] But even this was no final nor permanent solution of the ever-recurring difficulty. Councils again and again through the sixth and seventh centuries reaffirmed this fundamental distinction between monks as monks, and monks as clergy, but in vain. The tendency of things actually was to make the monastery within its own domain more and more independent of its bishop.[1]

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[1] "Sicut semper fuerunt"—"a conditione clericorum libera"—"sibi tantum ac Deo placentia." *Conc. Carth.* A.D. 525, 534.

[2] Labbe *Concil.* VIII. pp. 635, 636 (ed. 1762).

No new monastery could be founded without the bishop's sanction:[2] just as a layman needed the same permission to erect a church.[3] If the bishop himself were the founder, he might devote a fortieth of his episcopal income as endowment of a new church.[4] But, the monastery once founded, the choice of a new abbat belonged not to the bishop but to the monks themselves. The bishop, however, might interfere in case of their electing a vicious abbat. They were free to elect whom they would, one of their own body by preference, if possible, but in the event of there being no eligible candidate among themselves, a stranger from another monastery.[5] Nevertheless the abbat was to hold his office under the supervision of the bishop, and he was to attend the bishop's visitation yearly; if he failed in the discharge of his duty, he was to be admonished and corrected, or even, in case of gross misconduct, deposed by the bishop, not, however, without a right of appeal to the metropolitan, or to a general assembly of abbats.[6] Outside their monastic precincts, the bishop was supposed to have a general jurisdiction over the monks in his diocese, and in this way obviously might often prove himself an invaluable and almost indispensable ally to the abbat, seated within his monastery, in coercing and reclaiming truants.[1] Monks were forbidden to wander from one diocese to another, or from one monastery to another, without commendatory letters from the bishop as well as from the abbat: if contumacious they were to be whipped.[2] The bishop's permission was requisite, not the abbat's only, for a monk to occupy a separate cell apart from the monastery.[3] In short, the bishop was in theory, if not actually, responsible for the moral conduct of the monks in his diocese. Of course his control was more of a reality over their ecclesiastical ministrations. Although the bishop might not ordain a monk, nor remove a priest-monk from a monastery to parochial work, without the abbat's consent, might not interfere to prevent a priest or deacon from taking the monastic vow,[4] might not ordain a monk who broke his vow and relapsed to the life secular,[5] still, in accordance with the principle promulgated at Arles (A.D. 554),[6] it was generally admitted that the monk's vow of obedience to his abbat was not to supersede the canonical obedience of the

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[1] Monasteries subject only to king or emperor were called "regalia" or "imperialia" (Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.).

[2] *Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 451, xxiv. *Conc. Agath.* A.D. 506, xxvii.

[3] *Conc. Ilerd.* A.D. 524, iii.

[4] *Conc. Tolet.* A.D. 655, v.

[5] Bened. Anian. *Concord. Regul.* *Conc. Rom.* A.D. 601.

[6] *Conc. Tolet.* X. A.D. 656, iii.

[1] *Conc. Aurel.* A.D. 511, xix. *Conc. Arelat.* A.D. 554, ii.

[2] *Conc. Tolet.* A.D. 635, lxiii. Cf. *Conc. Venet.* A.D. 465, v. vi.

[3] *Conc. Aurel.* A.D. 511, xxii.

[4] *Conc. Agath.* A.D. 506, xxvii. *Conc. Rom.* A.D. 601.

[5] *Conc. Aurel.* A.D. 511, xxi.

[6] *v. s.*

clerk to his bishop, and, though the force of circumstances might naturally draw the monk to his abbat and to his brother monks, whenever their peculiar rights and privileges were threatened, the bishop could always retort effectively by simply holding back his hand when called to give the monastery the benefit of his episcopal services.

From the reiterated cautions of the Councils in this period against any encroachment of the bishops on the property of the monasteries, it would seem as if a wealthy monastery was sometimes a "Naboth's vineyard," as old monastic writers express it, in the eyes of a greedy or overbearing prelate. Bishops are forbidden by a council at Lerida (A.D. 524) to seize the offerings made to monasteries:[1] forbidden to tyrannize over monasteries or meddle with their endowments by a council at Toledo,[2] and by a council at Rome (A.D. 601). Another council at Toledo (A.D. 656) ordered any bishop guilty of appropriating a monastery for the aggrandisement of himself or of his family to be excommunicated for a year.[3]

The master mind of Gregory the Great was quick to recognize the importance of keeping the monks distinct from the secular clergy, and at the same time of providing some efficient supervision against laxity or immorality in the monastery. Of those numerous letters of Gregory, which attest his almost ubiquitous vigilance over the ecclesiastical affairs of Western Christendom, and the commanding influence which made itself felt far and near, not a few contain his adjudication in quarrels of abbats with their diocesans. His personal sympathies were divided, for he had himself been an ardent and devoted monk before becoming the head of the ecclesiastical system of Europe; and like a true statesman he saw that the way to make the cloister and the diocese mutually helpful, was to guard against any effacement of the boundary lines between their respective spheres. The office of the monk, he writes, is distinct from that of the clerk;[1] it is dangerous for a monk to leave his cell to become a priest; a clerk, once admitted into the monastic brotherhood, ought to stay there unless summoned to work outside the walls by the bishop.[2] The abbat is first to be elected by the monks, and then to be formally consecrated by the bishop.[3] On one occasion Gregory, taking the selection of an abbat into his own hands, sends a certain monk, Barbatianus, to be appointed, if the bishop approves his life and character.[4] Barbatianus, as abbat, admitted into the monastery without due probation a postulant, who soon afterwards ran away. Gregory blames the bishop for neglecting to make proper inquiries beforehand about Barbatianus.[5] Similarly, he reprimands bishops very severely for not looking more closely after the morality of their monasteries, and in more than one instance of a monk or a nun breaking the monastic vow and returning to the world, he lays the fault on the carelessness of the bishop as visitor.[1] He charges the bishops to exert themselves in reclaiming runaway monks, and to be strict in repelling them from holy communion.[2] The bishop is not to set up his cathedral throne in the monastery, nor to hold public services there; he is not to ordain any monk for the service of the monastery unless by the abbat's request, nor for ministerial work outside the monastery without the abbat's leave;[3] he is not to encourage the monks to rebel against their abbat; above all (and this seems to have been the most frequent cause of contention), he is not to harass nor oppress the monasteries, by visiting them too frequently, by putting them to inordinate expense on these occasions, by interfering with the revenues of the monastery and with its internal management, nor in any other way: on the contrary, he is to defend their rights and privileges diligently.[4] In order to escape from the pressure of episcopal control, monasteries not infrequently placed themselves under the bishop of another diocese.[5]

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[1] *Conc. Ilerd.* iii. [2] *Conc. Tolet.* IV. li. [3] *Ibid.*, X. iii.

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[1] *Epp.* V. i.

[2] *Epp.* I. xlii.

[3] *Epp.* II. ii. iv.

[4] "Si placuisset vita ac mores."

[5] *Epp.* IX. xci. X. xxiv.

The policy of Charlemagne towards monasteries was more repressive than that of Gregory; it substituted also the Emperor for the Pope as the mainspring of the system, as the person to whom the final appeal should be made. It was his aim at once to make the monastic discipline more binding, and to prevent the monastery from becoming a separate republic, independent of church and state. He sought to aggrandize the abbat as delegate of the bishop and Emperor, but not as a power in himself, to strengthen him in his authority over his monks, but at the same time to keep him obedient and dutiful to his bishop. The Emperor's idea was, that the clergy and monks of his realm should be like his feudal retainers, a compact, well-drilled spiritual militia for defensive and offensive service; the monks in their cells, and the clergy in their several dioceses, were all to live by rule, the rule of the monastic order or the rule canonical, the monks teaching in schools attached to their monasteries, the clergy busily at work in their way under the bishop. All that could be done by legislation was done with consummate skill for this purpose, under the Emperor's direction, in the synods of his reign. But in spite of councils and canons, the monasteries grew insensibly more autonomous, the parochial clergy more secular. It was far more easy, as Gregory had found, to say that the bishop must be responsible for good order in the monasteries of his diocese, than to enable him to enforce his authority on a monastery indisposed to accept it.

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[1] *Epp.* VIII. viii. xxxiv. IX. cxiv. X. viii. xxii. xxiv. etc.

[2] *Epp.* IX. xxxvii. etc.

[3] *Epp.* II. xli. etc.

[4] *Epp.* I. xii. VI. xxix. VIII. xxxiv. IX. cxi.

[5] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* I. xlii.

It was enacted by the council of Vern or Verne, near

Paris, that if the bishop cannot himself correct an offending abbat, he must invoke the aid of the metropolitan, and, that failing, of a synod; that the offender is to be excommunicated by the bishops generally, and a successor appointed by the king or his council;[1] this was confirmed under Charles.[2] It had also been provided that the abbat should render an account to his bishop, as well as to the king, of any exemptions or immunities which he claimed.[3] The monks were not even to elect their abbat without the bishop's approval,[4] and as the abbat received his office at the hands of the bishop, so he was to allow the bishop, as visitor, free ingress into the monastery, reserving however for himself the right of appeal, first to the metropolitan, and from him to the crown.[5]

About this time the Eastern Church enacted that the bishop or metropolitan should appoint a bursar or treasurer[6] in every monastery not provided with one already, to keep account of the receipts and expenditure, and that any abbat convicted of granting admission into the monastery for money, should be banished to another monastery, and there do penance.[7]

Louis, the successor of Charlemagne, always devoted to monks, enriched the monasteries and made them more secure in their possessions; but the power of the great feudal bishops was increasing proportionately, and sometimes the rapacity or the tyranny of their ecclesiastical superior drove a monastery to place itself under the protection of the king or one of his barons.[1] The popes took some monasteries under their own special tutelage, as the patriarchs had done in the East: and before the end of the twelfth century some of the greatest abbats were appointed by the Pope, and some of the most important questions concerning the temporal and spiritual affairs of monasteries were regulated solely by him.[2]

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[1] *Conc. Vern.* A.D. 755, v.

[2] *Conc. Aquisgr.* A.D. 802, xv.

[3] *Conc. Vern.* A.D. 755, xx.

[4] *Conc. Francof.* A.D. 735, xvii.

[5] Car. M. *Capit.* A.D. 812, III. ii. *Conc. Francof.* A.D. 794, iv.

[6] œconomus.

[7] *Conc. Nic.* II. A.D. 737, xi. xix. *Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 451, xxvi.

In the isles of the west, by their position and by other circumstances removed from immediate contact with Central Europe, the course of events was somewhat different. Before the Saxon occupation of Britain, monks and monasteries were already very numerous; but monastic discipline was lax. No Benedict had mapped out the daily life of the monastery. Columba was rather a missionary than a monastic reformer, and his influence, though very widely extended, was rather the personal influence of a holy man than the stereotyping influence of a legislator. Columbanus had bequeathed his rule to other lands rather than to his own country. The fervid temperament of the Kelts was in itself less patient of control, less amenable to discipline. Solitaries, that is monks living as hermits, each in his cell apart from the monasteries, were not so systematically discountenanced nor so carefully supervised in Ireland as on the continent. The character, also, of their ecclesiastical organization tended to make the monastery less dependent on its bishop. Originally, the chieftains of the clan or tribe, even after its conversion to Christianity, exercised a patriarchal authority in spiritual as well as in temporal matters, and, as the conventual establishments grew in number and importance, the headship of them was still retained generally in the family of the chieftain, the office of the abbat, like the office of the bard who was usually to be found in every Keltic monastery, being as a rule hereditary.[1]

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[1] Milman *Lat. Chr.* II. 88, 90.

[2] Pellic. *Ecc. Chr. Pol.* Sometimes, especially in the Keltic church, when a monastery was exempt from episcopal control, one of the monks was consecrated bishop for the monastery only, subordinate to the abbat in monastic order, unless combining both offices in himself.

Among the Saxons in England a similar result was produced by other causes. When Christianity came the second time into the island, it came in the guise of monachism. The monk and the missionary were one. Many of the British monks had been massacred by the heathen invaders; many had fled for safety to the peaceful and prosperous monasteries of their brethren in Ireland. But their places were quickly filled by their Teutonic successors. Almost every large church was attached to a monastery, and in the first instance the monks were the parish-priests of the diocese.[1] All this gave the monasteries in England a hold over the people which they never lost, till their dissolution in the sixteenth century, and as the tie grew weaker, which had grouped the monks around the bishop of the diocese, and as the monastery became detached from the minister, all this strengthened the abbats in their independence. The formal exemption of monasteries from episcopal control in things secular, dates from the seventh century, and the council of Cealchythe, a century later, only affirmed that the monks should take the bishop's advice in electing an abbat.[2] For all practical purposes the authority of an individual bishop in England was, for the most part, scarcely more than nominal; and, in course of time, the lordly abbats of the great monasteries vied in power and magnificence with the occupants of the greatest sees.

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[1] Montalemb. *Monks of the West*, III. pp. 194, 231—237.

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[1] Milman *Lat. Chr.* II. 256.

[2] "Cum consilio episcopi." *Conc. Calcuth.* A.D. 787, v.

CHAPTER X.

CANONICI.

THE canonical clergy have occupied an intermediate position between the monks and the secular clergy. As living together under a rule of their own they were often regarded popularly as a species of monks; while, inasmuch as their rule was less strict, and their seclusion from the world less complete, they were sometimes, from a monastic point of view, classed even with the laity, as distinguished from those who were "religious." Thus the colleges of the canonici were sometimes called monasteries;[1] while Dudo,[2] broadly dividing Christians into "regular" or "contemplative," and "secular," places "canonici" among the "secular."[3] The canonici did not fully assume their quasi-monastic character till the eighth century. The theory which would trace them back as a monastic order to Augustine, and which ascribes to him the Augustinian Rule, scarcely needs refutation.[1]

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[1] Hospin. *De Monachat.* III. vi. 72*b*.

[2] *De Act. Norman.* III. v.

[3] Cf. Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.

The canonici were at first the clergy and other officials attached to the Church, and were so called either as bound by canons,[2] or more probably as enrolled on the list of ecclesiastical officers.[3] Du Cange explains the word by the "canon," that is a certain proportion (one-fourth) of the alms of the faithful set apart for the maintenance of the clergy and other officers of the Church.[4] Another, but most improbable, derivation is also mentioned by him.[5] A passage is cited from the life of Antony, attributed to Augustine, to show that the word was equivalent to "clerus." [6] But "canonici" was at first a more comprehensive word than "clerus," embracing all who held ecclesiastical offices, as readers, singers, porters, &c.[7]

Some bishops even before the fifth century, for instance Eusebius of Vercelli, Ambrose of Milan, the great Augustine, and Martin of Tours, set an example of monastic austerity to the clergy domiciled with them, which became widely popular.[8] Gelasius I. at the close of the fifth century founded an establishment of "canonici regulares" at Rome in the Lateran.[1] The second Council of Toledo speaks of schools conducted by the canons wherein the scholars lived in the church house under the bishop,[2] and before the end of the sixth century, the third Council of Toledo orders the Scriptures to be read aloud in the refectory of the priests.[3] A similar phrase, the "canons' table," is quoted by Du Cange from Gregory of Tours[4] in reference to the canons established by Bandinus, Archbishop of Tours, in the sixth century, and from a charter granted by Chilperic (580 A.D.).[5] In the third Council of Orleans, A.D. 538, the canons are forbidden secular business.[6] The college in which the canons resided, or rather the church to which the college was attached, is styled "canonica" in a charter A.D. 724.[7]

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[1] Hospin. *De Monachat.* III. vi. 71*b*.

[2] Du Cange, *s. v.*

[3] Κανών, matricula, albus, tabula.

[4] *Conc. Agath.* A.D. 506, xxxvi. *Conc. Aurel.* A.D. 538, xi. *Conc. Narbon.* A.D. 589, x. xii.

[5] κοινωνικόι.

[6] ἐτιμᾶ τὸν κανόνα.

[7] *Thomass. Vet. et Nov. Discip.* I. ii. 34. Bingh. *Orig. Ecc.* I. v. § 10.

[8] *Conc. Tolet.* II. i. *Conc. Turon.* II. A.D. 567, xii.

Bishops, especially for missions, were frequently chosen out of the monasteries; and these naturally surrounded themselves with monks. In the words of Montalembert, many a bishopric was cradled in a monastery. Thus in Armorica the principal communities formed by the monastic missionaries (from Britain in the fifth century) were soon transformed into bishoprics.[1] In countries which owed their Christianity to monks, the monastery and the cathedral rose side by side, and under one roof. But cathedral-monasteries are, strictly speaking, almost peculiar to England;[2] for, while elsewhere, for the most part, either the cathedral or the monastery ousted the other, in England many of the cathedrals retained their monastic, more exactly, their quasi-monastic character, till the Reformation. Usually it was the mother-church, as Canterbury or Lindisfarne, which thus adhered to its original institution, while the new cathedrals for the subdivided diocese passed into the hands of the non-monastic clergy.[3] In either case, as at Worcester, the cathedral clergy were the parochial clergy of the city.[4] The result of this combination on the clergy generally, and on the monks, was twofold. On the one hand the clergy became, in the first instance, more monastic; on the other, a somewhat more secular tone was given for a time to the monasteries. But, as these cathedral-monasteries came to lose their missionary character, other monasteries arose, by a reaction of sentiment, of a less secular and of a more ascetic kind, as, in England, Crowland and Evesham, in contrast to Peterborough and Worcester.[5] By the Council of

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[1] Hospin. *De Monachat.* III. vi. 72*b*. Bingh. *Orig. Ecc.* VII. ii. § 9. [2] i, ii. [3] vii.

[4] "Mensa canonica." *Hist.* X. ad fin.

[5] Miræi *Diplom. Belg.* II. 1310, ap. Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.

[6] *Conc. Aurel.* IV. xi.

[7] *Chart. Langob.* ap. Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.

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[1] *Monks of the West*, II. p. 273.

[2] Stubbs *Introd. Epp. Cantuar.* xxi.

[3] *Ibid.*, xxii.

[4] Stubbs *Cath. Worcester in 8th Cent.*

[5] *Ibid.*

Clovesho, A.D. 747, all monasteries proper in England were placed under the Benedictine Rule, and thus the severance was defined of the chapters and the monasteries.[1]

But Chrodegang, cousin of Pepin, and Archbishop of Metz, in the latter part of the eighth century, was virtually the founder of canons as a semi-monastic order. By enforcing strict obedience to the Rule and the Superior he tightened the authority of the bishop over the clergy of his Cathedral.[2] But, while retaining the monastic obligations of obedience and of chastity, he relaxed that of poverty. His canons were, like monks, to have a common dormitory and a common refectory.[3] Like monks, they were to reside within the cloister; and egress, except by the porter's gateway, was strictly forbidden.[4] But they were allowed a life interest in private property,[5] though after death it was to revert to the Church to which they belonged; and, which is especially curious, they were not to forfeit their property, even for crimes and misdemeanours entailing otherwise severe penance.[6] Thus the discipline of the cloister was rendered more palatable to the clergy, while a broad line of demarcation was drawn between them and monks.[1] They were not to wear the monk's cowl.[2] The essential difference between a cathedral with its canons, and an abbey-church with its monks, has been well expressed thus: the canons existed for the services of the cathedral, but the abbey-church for the spiritual wants of the recluses happening to settle there.[3]

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[1] *Conc. Clovesh.* xxiv. Cf. *Reg. Bened.* lviii. Mab. *AA. O. S. B.* I. Præf. lvi.

[2] *Reg. Chrodeg.* ap. Labb. *Conc.* VII. 1445.

[3] *Reg. Chrodeg.* iii. *Conc. Mogunt.* A.D. 813, ix.

[4] *Conc. Aquisgr.* A.D. 816, cxvii. cxliv.

[5] Also the diet was more generous. *Reg. Chrodeg.* xxii. *Conc. Aquisgr.* A.D. 816, cxxii.

[6] *Reg. Chrodeg.* xxxi. xxxii. Cf. Stubbs *Introd. Epp. Cantuar.* xxiv.

Chrodegang's institution was eagerly adopted by the far-seeing Karl in his reformation of ecclesiastical abuses; indeed he wished to force it on the clergy generally.[4] He ordered the canons to live as canons, and to obey their bishop as abbat; a similar enactment was made at the Councils of Aachen, A.D. 789, and of Mentz, A.D. 813.[5] It was evidently the great legislator's intention to make these colleges of canons instrumental for education.[6] Thus, one of the principal canons was the schoolmaster, or, more properly, chancellor,[7] and the buildings were arranged mainly to be used as schools.[8]

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[1] *Conc. Mogunt.* ix. x. *Conc. Turon.* III. xxv.

[2] *Reg. Chrodeg.* liii, interpolated from *Conc. Aquisgr.* cxxv.

[3] Freeman *Norm. Conq.* II. p. 443.

[4] Robertson *Ch. Hist.* II. 219—221.

[5] *Conc. Aquisgr.* xxvii. xxix. *Conc. Mogunt.* ix. Cf. Du Cange, *Gloss. Lat.* s. v. Hospin. *De Monachat.* xxii. 154.

[6] *Conc. Cabill.* A.D. 813, iii. Alteser. *Ascetic.* I. i.

[7] Freeman *Norm. Conq.* II. p. 443.

[8] Hospin. *De Monachat.* 153—156.

The Rule of Chrodegang in its integrity was short-lived. By the middle of the ninth century it was in force in most cathedrals of France, Germany, Italy, and more partially, in England.[1] But, though milder even than that mildest of monastic Rules, the Benedictine, it was too severe to be generally accepted by the clergy, especially in England. In the ninth century, or, rather, by the end of the eighth,[2] communities of secular clerks, with the character if not the name of canons, had supplanted monks in many parts of England; but they soon lost the ground which they had gained. Partly, perhaps, from the popularity of monks with the laity in England, as the harbingers of Christianity, and as intimately connected with the history of the nation, partly from the repugnance of the clergy to asceticism, the Lotharingian Rule never took root here.[3] By 1050 A.D. it was nearly obsolete in England. Celibacy seems to have formed no integral part of the plan in the foundation of Waltham.[4]

Even where it had been at first in vogue, the Rule of Chrodegang was soon relaxed; nor were the efforts of Adalbero, Willigis, and others effectual to restore it.[1] The canons became, first, a community dwelling together under the headship of the bishop, but not of necessity under the same roof with him; next, an acephalous community,—a laxity which had been specially condemned by the Council of Aachen, already mentioned[2]—and, gradually, instead of representing the clergy of the diocese, they developed into a distinct, and, sometimes, antagonistic body.[3] As their wealth and influence increased they claimed a share in the government of the diocese.[4] Trithemius speaks of the canons of Trier in the close of the tenth century, as both in name and in reality "seculares non regulares:" and Hospinian protests against the very expression "canonici seculares," as a contradiction in terms, like "regulares irregulares."[5]

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[1] Robertson *Ch. Hist.* II. 221.

[2] *Ib.* 231. Stubbs *Introd. Epp. Cantuar.* xvii.

[3] Freeman *Norm. Conq.* II. 85. Stubbs *Intr. De Inv. Cruc.* x. "An attempt was made to introduce it in the Legatine Council of 786, which probably went no farther in effect than to change the name of secular clerks into canons, and to turn secular abbots into deans."—*Conc. Calcyth.* iv.

[4] Freeman *Norm. Conq.* II. 443. Stubbs *Intr. De Inv. Cruc.* xii.

The "Canons Regular of St. Augustine," founded by Ives of Chartres and others, in the eleventh century, may be regarded as resulting from the failure of the attempts to force the canonical rule on the clergy of the cathedral and collegiate churches.[6] These canons differed but slightly from the monks; and, unlike the canons of older date, resembled the monks in the renunciation of private property. This Order was introduced into England very early in the twelfth century by Adelwald, confessor of Henry I., but some assign an earlier date. At the Reformation there were, according to Hospinian, more than 8000 communities of canons in Europe; the number declined greatly afterwards. The various mediæval subdivisions of canons enumerated by Du Cange do not fall within our present scope.[1]

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[1] Robertson *Ch. Hist.* II. p. 531.

[2] *Conc. Aquisgr.* ci.

[3] Robertson *Ch. Hist.* II. p. 530.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Hospin. *De Monach.* p. 73.

[6] Robertson *Ch. Hist.* II. p. 799.

Canonesses in the primitive Church were devout women, taking charge of funerals and other works of charity.[2] Though not originally bound by a vow, nor compelled to live in a community,[3] they lived apart from men, and had a special part of the church reserved for them in the public services.[4] In the eighth century the canonesses lived together after the example of the canons, being, like them, attached to particular churches.[5] They are distinguished from nuns;[6] but, like nuns, were strictly debarred from the society of men.[7] They were to occupy themselves specially, like the canons, in education.[1] The domicellæ or secular canonesses are of later date.[2]

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[1] Hospin. *De Monachat.* p. 73. Cf. Thomass. *Vet. et Nov. Disc.* I. iii. 7—12, III. ii. 27. Richard et Gérardin *Biblioth. Sacr.* *s. v.* Martigny *Dict. des. Ant. Chrét.*

[2] Soc. *H. E.* I. xvii. Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xxiii. Justin. *Novell.* xliii. lix. ap. Menard. *Comm. Reg. Bened.* lxviii.

[3] Bingh. *Orig. Ecc.* VII. iv. § 1. But see Pellic. *Ecc. Chr. Pol* I. iii. 3, § 1.

[4] Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.

[5] Pellic. *Ecc. Chr. Pol.* I. iii. 4, § 1.

[6] *Conc. Francof.* A.D. 794, xlvi. xlvii.

[7] *Conc. Aquisgr.* A.D. 816, xx. *Conc. Cabill.* A.D. 813, liii.

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[1] *Conc. Francof.* A.D. 794, xl. *Conc. Aquisgr.* A.D. 816, xxii. *Magd. Centur.* VIII. vi.

[2] Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v. See also Thomass. *Vet. et Nov. Disc.* I. iii. xliii. li. lxiii. Altes. *Ascet.* III. iii.

PART II.

MONASTIC OFFICERS AND USAGES.

CHAPTER I.

THE ABBAT.

THE keystone of the arch in the monastic system was the supremacy of the abbat: this gave cohesion and stability to the fabric. His was an almost absolute authority, a paternal despotism. To hear was to obey. Although the abbat was to take his turn with the other monks, according to the Rule of Benedict, in the menial work of the house, that he might set an example of industry and humility, in government his voice was to be final. Within the precincts he reigned alone, and his watchful eye followed his monks everywhere. Each of them was bound to report to him the misdoing of a brother, just as each was bound to confess his own faults. The vow of unhesitating obedience has been one great secret of monastic vitality.

Benedict magnified the abbat's office: Columban assigned to the abbat even greater powers. Jerome had advocated what became a prominent feature in Benedictine foundations, that the abbat should have a provost or prior under him, next in command, assisted in the larger monasteries by deans; but Benedict preferred deans without the intervention of a prior, being apprehensive of rivalry between the chief and his lieutenant.

The outer wall of the monastery was intended primarily for defence against aggressiveness of the world; it came to be quite as useful for keeping the brethren in. Indeed, from the first, the necessity had been recognized of binding the community compactly under one control, of repressing insubordination with an iron hand, and of demarcating monks from lawless hordes of monkish vagrants: and as monasteries began to be founded near great cities, both in Eastern and Western Christendom, stringent precautions against disorder became more and more necessary. Gregory the Great, with the discernment which has characterized the Roman Church in utilizing her monastic auxiliaries, was very severe against vagabond monks. The Council of Agde, A.D. 506, ordered that no member of the community should live in a cell apart from the cloister without the abbat's special leave, nor, in any case, outside the precincts. Council after council thundered against recalcitrant and disorderly monks, endeavouring to weld the monastic system together indissolubly. Charles the Great enacted that solitary recluses should enrol themselves as monks or canons.

The title "Abbas" means father; like "Papa," restricted in course of time to the Bishop of Rome, it belonged at first to monks generally, but came to be the exclusive property of those who presided over monks or canons. The title "Abbas Abbatum" was used of the abbats of Monte Casino. Benedict of Aniane also bore it.[1] Conversely Dominus or Domnus, at first a title of the abbat, came to be used of his officials,[2] and subsequently of monks generally. The abbat was at first elected from the monks by the bishop, afterwards by the monks themselves, or by consent of the bishop and the monks. He held office for life, unless deprived canonically by the bishop, or by the bishop acting in conjunction with other abbats: in monasteries exempt from episcopal control he was subject directly to the Pope. Sometimes the lay impropriator of an abbey was termed abbas laicus or irreligiosus.[3]

Gregory the Great, exercising an almost ubiquitous influence over Western Christendom, in his solicitude for a rigid monastic discipline, insists that the abbat must be one whose moral and spiritual fitness have been well tested and proved, that he must relieve himself of mundane distractions by having a good lay agent; that he must be strict in correcting offenders; that he must retain in his own hands the appointment of his deans, that in appointing a prior he must exercise his own discretion, even by deviating from the order of seniority, in order to select the brother whom he believes to be best fitted for the office.[1]

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[1] *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, I. p. 2; *Abbat*, by the late Rev. A. W. Haddan, M.A.

[2] It was applied also to saints, bishops, &c. Hence Don, Donna, Dom, in Romance.

[3] *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, I. pp. 2, 5; *Abbat.*

In what are called the Middle Ages, the monasteries of each Western Order were under the presidency of the monastery, the original seat of the Order, a development not contemplated by Benedict: the abbat of the parent monastery convoked the chapter-general. But in the tenth century Odo of Clugny, as in the eighth Benedict of Aniane, was supreme over all Benedictine abbats.[2]

In the Greek Church the Hegumenos[3] of a monastery corresponds to the Latin abbat. He was termed sometimes archimandrite, "ruler of the fold."[4] But this title passed in time to the superior-general, called exarch originally, whose office it was to visit all the monasteries in a province. Any monastery, so desirous at its foundation, was exempted from the bishop's jurisdiction, and placed under the sole authority of the patriarch, the superior-general of these monasteries being styled Grand Archimandrite. In the Greek

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[1] *Epp.* passim.

[2] At a later date among friars, the Cloisters of each province were under a "provincial," subject to a "general" resident, usually at Rome.

[3] In classical Greek, the head of a confederacy. Hegumene, Hegumeneion, Hegumeneia, signify monastically, abbess, abbat's rooms (or monastery), abbat's office.

[4] Cf. *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, I. 138; *Archimandrite*, by Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes, B.D.

Church the abbat was ordered to take his meals with the brethren; in the Latin, generally apart from them, at the same table as the guests.[1] By the Rule of Isidore of Seville he was to eat with the brethren.[2]

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[1] *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, I. 5. *Abbat*, by the late Rev. A. W. Haddan, M.A.

[2] *Ib.* II. 1217. *Monastery*, by the Rev. E. Venables, M.A.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRIOR.

The title of Prior in monasteries is much later in date than the office itself. According to Du Cange the word was not so used before the time of Pope Celestine V., towards the end of the thirteenth century.[1] But the office so designated is much older, provost and prelate being the words used originally.[2] In one passage, where Benedict enjoins on the younger monks the duty of being reverent to their priors,[3] he means probably their elders or superiors in the monastery.[4] Ménard contends, that, wherever in the Rule of Benedict the term prior is used in the singular number and absolutely, it signifies the abbat himself, and quotes in support of his argument a passage from Cæsarius of Arles.[1] Where Benedict in his Rule orders, that if any monk has an urgent question to ask during the hours of silence, he must ask it of the prior, Ménard, with other commentators, explains the word to mean the abbat, or some monk senior in standing, or higher in official position than the others present.[2] Similarly in the chapter of the Rule about the reader for the week, the prior only is allowed to interrupt the reader, if necessary, and to interpose a remark; here Ménard understands the abbat to be intended, Boherius the monk at the head of the table.[3] Again, on the quantity of liquor permissible, the prior, to whose discretion it is left to prescribe in extraordinary cases a larger quantity than the pint (hemina), is supposed by Boherius to be the father-abbat himself. Martene cites Hæften to show that the deans in a monastery were sometimes called priors, the first dean being the prior, the second the sub-prior, and so forth.[4] But this was not usual.

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[1] Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.

[2] præpositus, prælatus. Martene *Comment. in Reg. Bened.* lxv. Gregor. M. *Dialog.* I. ii, vii.

[3] "Priores suos nonnos appellent juniores."

[4] *Reg. Bened.* lxiii

There is a distinction to be observed between the prior of the cloister, a subordinate officer of the abbat, and the prior of the convent, who exercised supreme authority within a monastery of his own.[5] In the latter sense the Greek equivalent of prior is *Hegumenos*, according to

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[1] Menard. *Comment. in* Bened. Anian. *Concord. Reg.* xlvii. Cæsarii *Reg. ad Virg.* iii.

[2] *Comment. in Reg. Bened.* vi.

[3] *Reg. Bened.* xxxviii.

[4] Martene *Com. in Reg. Ben.* xxi.

[5] prior claustralis, prior conventualis. Alteser. *Asceticon*, II. viii

Alteserra, who quotes a canon of the second Council of Nicæa which speaks of the abbat or the hegumenos, but perhaps this is a mere tautology.[1] Alteserra quotes also a passage from Evagrius equally precarious in its application, where Cyril is called hegumenos of the sleepless monks.[2] Later Latin writers, according to Alteserra, in their affectation of Greek fashions, were fond of styling priors hegumeni, but the instances which he cites from Paulus Diaconus relate to monks in the Eastern empire.[3]

The prior of the cloister ranked next in the monastery to the abbat, and, subject to the abbat's veto, exercised similar authority.[4] He was the abbat's lieutenant or second abbat, acting in the name of his superior officer,[5] doing nothing on his own independent responsibility, but always as subject to the approval of the father-abbat; in theory head of the abbat's executive, but nothing more.[6] Practically an ambitious prior was apt to usurp the abbat's functions, especially if his abbat were of less energetic temperament. According to the ancient Egyptian rule ascribed to Pachomius, the monks might complain to the abbat of the prior's behaviour.[7] The prior was inspector and controller of the deans,[1] the first in order of whom took precedence in the monastery next after the prior.[2]

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[1] Alteser. *Asc.*; cf. *Conc. Nic.* II. A.D. 787, xiv.

[2] *Hist. Ecc.* III. xix.

[3] Alteser. *v. s.*

[4] *Reg. Bened.* lxv. *Conc. Aquisgran.* A.D. 817, lv.

[5] Menard. *Comment. in* Bened. Anian. *Concord. Reg.* xxvii.

[6] Fructuos. *Reg.* xx.

[7] Pachom. *Reg.* cxxvii, cxxviii.

By primitive custom in the West the prior was appointed by the abbat alone.[3] A Rule calling itself the Rule of the East (Regula Orientalis), but probably compiled by Vigilius Draconus in France during the fifth century,[4] says, that the prior is to be appointed by the abbat, with the concurrence of the brethren.[5] Gregory the Great seems sometimes to have appointed priors and abbats on his own authority by letter.[6] It was the rule for the prior to be elected from among the inmates of the monastery; in other words, the election was to be gremial.[7] Priors often (as was to be expected) were selected for the office of abbat; deans in the same way were often promoted to be priors.

The tenure of the office of prior was for life, conditionally on good conduct. A faulty prior rendered himself liable to public correction after four admonitions, which were to be administered to him, according to Martene, by the abbat in private. In the case of an ordinary monk the warning was to be given twice, in the case of a dean thrice, before proceeding to punish.

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[1] Pachom. *Reg.* xii.

[2] *Conc. Aquisgran.* A.D. 817, *v. s.*

[3] *Reg. Bened.* lxv.

[4] Menard. *Ad Cod. Reg.* Bened. Anian.

[5] "Cum consilio et voluntate fratrum."

[6] *Epp.* VII. xlii. IX. xlii. Very rarely the bishop of the diocese appointed the prior. (*Dict. Chr. Ant.* II. p. 4.)

[7] Martene *Comment. Reg. Bened.* lxv. *Conc. Aquisgran.* A.D. 817, xxxi.

The several degrees or stages of punishment, according to Hildemarus quoted by Martene, were public rebuke, excommunication, extra fasting, flagellation, deposition, expulsion from the monastery.[1] Recourse was requisite occasionally even to the last and severest penalty.[2] Gregory the Great is quoted by Martene as specifying profligacy, insubordination, or wastefulness as valid reasons for deposing a prior.[3]

The prior's first and especial duty was to look closely after the discipline of the monastery, and to report any breach of discipline to the abbat.[4] He was to watch over the conduct of his brethren day and night, in the refectory, in the dormitory, and elsewhere.[5] In the sleeping chamber the prior was to be the first to rise in the morning, the last to go to his bed: he was to remain standing in the middle of the room, till all the rest were asleep, to guard against any irregularity; at midnight, after the appointed lection, the prior was to expound.[6] He was to lead the brethren forth to their labours in the field, and to superintend their noonday repose afield in the heat of summer.[7] He was empowered to enforce discipline by the lesser excommunication.[1] It is related by Bede how Cuthbert was transferred by his abbat from Melrose to Lindisfarne, as prior, to keep order among the monks of the island.[2] Another part of the prior's office, in order that the abbat might have more leisure for spiritual concerns, was to look after the temporal possessions of the monastery, a responsibility which increased with the increasing wealth of monasteries, but which he shared with the steward or bursar. On him also devolved, together with the care of the monastic property, the charge of the litigations in which the brotherhood might be engaged.[3] He was also to superintend the food and clothing provided for the monks severally, not excluding the abbat's portion, rendering his accounts duly from time to time to his superior.[4] To discharge rightly these various and important duties the prior was required to be diligent, obedient, trustworthy, grave and sedate in character, but not too advanced in years to be still active.[5]

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[1] Martene *Comment. Reg. Bened.* xxi, xlv.

[2] *E. g.* Ardo *Vit. Bened. Anian.* xxiv.

[3] Martene *v. s.*

[4] *Reg. Pachom.* clii, cliv. *Reg. Bened.* lxiii, lxv. *Reg. Tarnat.* xxiii. *Reg. Fructuos.* xi. *Conc. Mogunt.* I. A.D. 813, xi.

[5] Hieron. *Ep. ad Eustoch.* August. *De Morib. Eccles.* xxxi.

[6] *Reg. Fructuos.* v. *Conc. Aquisgran.* xxxi.

[7] *Reg. Pachom.* lviii. *Reg. Steph.* lv.

It is easy to see that the prior, holding so important a position in the monastery, might become a rival to the abbat, rather than an assistant. He presided in the abbat's absence,[6] and it was hardly to be expected that an ambitious man, after once tasting the sweetness of authority, should abdicate cheerfully. In case of any slackness or delinquency on the part of the abbat, the prior was to set matters right;[1] after once reproving his superior, he was scarcely likely to receive orders from him submissively; in short, though intended to be a comfort and support to his commanding officer,[2] he proved too often a thorn in his side. All this Benedict anticipated with his shrewd, statesmanlike instinct. He was jealous of anything like a divided allegiance; he was afraid of insubordination and dissension from what might practically come to be two abbats in the same monastery. The prior would fancy himself a second abbat; he would make a party among the brethren, he would play the part of Absalom to David, seducing the subjects from their loyalty to their ruler. Benedict much preferred deans to a prior as the abbat's executive; they would be more under control, less factious and self-asserting. The reins of government would be in the abbat's own hands. If, however, for some special reason, a prior should be indispensable to a monastery, he was to be chosen by the abbat, with the advice of the brethren in chapter, that is, of all the brethren according to some commentators, and according to others, of the elders only.[3] The wisdom of the great Reformer's policy has been demonstrated again and again by experience. The canon on this point was reaffirmed by Charlemagne in the Council of Mainz.[1] Lay abbats subsequently found it far more convenient for their purposes to be represented by deans than by a prior.[2] Lay priors, another innovation on the primitive strictness of the Benedictine Rule, were prohibited by Charlemagne.[3]

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[1] *Reg. Fructuos.* xi. *Reg. Tarnat.* vi.

[2] Bed. *Hist. Eccles.* IV. xxvii.

[3] *Reg. Isidor. Hispal.* xx.

[4] *Reg. Fructuos.* xi.

[5] *Reg. Pachom.* cxxviii. *Reg. Farreol.* xvii. *Reg. Cujusdam.*

[6] *Reg. Basil.* xlv.

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[1] Gregor. M. *Epp.* IV. iv.

[2] *Reg. Ferreol.* xvii. *Reg. Fructuos.* xi.

[3] *Reg. Bened. Comment.* lxv.

The forms of institution are of comparatively recent origin.[4]

The conventual prior was a later development of monasticism, and was, of course, essentially more independent than his claustral brother. Next in rank to him in larger monasteries was the sub-prior.[5] Among the canons regular, the bishop was supreme generally, but the prior in questions relating to the Rule, or while the see was vacant.[6] The conventual priors were summoned to provincial synods, and in some cases to the election of bishops. They were sometimes styled summi priores, or majores; they were to be over twenty-five years of age, and in priest's orders. They exercised the same powers of discipline in their priories as the abbat in his abbey; they were elected as he was; but their investiture belonged to the abbat, under whose jurisdiction they were nominally. The order of Premonstratensians was at first under priors, afterwards under abbats.[1] Very small priories were invariably discouraged by those who desired to preserve the true monastic spirit. Priories of this kind were the result of several different causes. Sometimes they were simply an overflow from a monastery more than usually popular for the abbat's sake, or for some other reason; sometimes they were the consequence of a monastery, which had known better days, being annexed in its decrepitude as an appendage to another more flourishing; sometimes the priory was merely an outpost of the monastery which gave it birth, or some detached grange or farm. Whatever might be its origin, a priory on a very small scale was only too apt to degenerate into laxity and secularity. Benedict, in the very commencement of his Rule, reprobates strongly the vicious custom of two or three monks herding together promiscuously, being really neither hermits nor monks.[2] Bernard calls such priories "synagogues of Satan."[3] It was ordered by a Council at Aachen that no priory should consist of fewer than six members.[4] Peter the Venerable, of Clugny, required at least twelve, and this became the rule of the Cistercians and Carthusians.[5] In the English Reformation in the sixteenth century, the most flagrant immoralities were generally found in the smallest monasteries.

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[1] *Conc. Mogunt.* I. xi.

[2] Alteser. *Ascet.* II. ix.

[3] *Capit.* A.D. 805, xvi.

[4] *Reg. Bened. Comment.* v. s.

[5] Anselm. *Ep. ad Monach. Cantuar.*

[6] Alteser. *Ascet.* v. s.

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[1] Alteser. *Ascet.* v. s.

[2] *Reg. Bened.* i.

[3] *Epp.* ccliv. (ad Guarin. abbat.).

[4] A.D. 817, xliv.

[5] *Reg. Bened. Comment.* i.

The office of prioress, under an abbess, was very similar to that of the claustral prior. She was to be firm and discreet; old in character though not in years; she was to superintend the behaviour of the nuns, chiding and, if necessary, whipping them for their faults; she was held responsible in particular for their clothes and dormitories.[1] The nuns, by the anonymous Rule just quoted, which is one of more than ordinary strictness, were only allowed to make any communication to their abbess through their prioress.[2]

[1] *Reg. Cujusdam* ii.

[2] *Ib.* xxii.

CHAPTER III.

THE DEAN.

THE office of Dean (Decanus) seems to have existed in Asia and Egypt, at least in a rudimentary form, from almost the very commencement of cœnobitism, in subordination to the abbat. The dean was deputed by him to superintend the younger brethren, drilling them in self-denial and encouraging them to confess to him even their secret faults.[1] Especially, he was to watch over the novices just emerging, their first year of probation being past, from the strangers' room,[2] setting them an example of obedience, by himself obeying the prior or provost even in things impossible.[3] Augustine speaks of the dean[4] as having charge over ten monks[5]; Jerome, over nine.[6] The dean was to provide for the temporal necessities of his monks, for instance, by sending out to them their linen under-garments;[1] to watch by night over their cells; to lead them to and from refection, to assign to each the allotted task, and at the close of the day to hand over the work done to the steward, who was to make a monthly report of it to the abbat.[2]

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[1] Cassian. *Instit.* V. viii, ix.

[2] Xenodochium. *Ib.* IV. vii.

[3] *Ib.* IV. x.

[4] The idea came probably from the decurio in the Roman Army.

[5] *De Mor. Eccles.* xxxi.

[6] *Epp.* xxii. (ad Eustoch.).

The great monastic legislator of Monte Casino adopted cordially this important feature in cœnobitism, prescribing more precisely the duties of the dean, and placing him next in rank to the prior or provost. Indeed, Benedict preferred deans to priors, as less likely to clash with the supreme authority of the abbat.[3] All monasteries except the very smallest, for the words "major congregatio" are taken to mean any number over twenty,[4] were to have deans, one for ten brethren. He was to have charge of his decade in all things, but always according to the precepts of the abbat.[5] He was to be appointed not by seniority (per ordinem) but by merit, at the choice of the abbat, or, according to some commentators, of the abbat and seniors.[6] He was to hold office for an undefined period, one year or more;[7] but, if his behaviour was unsatisfactory, after three admonitions he was to be deprived.[8] He was to guard the morals and conduct of the monks under his care, especially in the dormitory,[1] and to hear their confessions.[2]

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[1] Cassian. *Instit.* IV. x.

[2] *Hieron.* Ib. Cf. Bingh. *Orig. Ecc.*

[3] *Reg.* lxv. *Conc. Mogunt.* I. A.D. 816, xi.

[4] Martene *Comm. in Reg. Bened.* xvii.

[5] Reg. xxi.

[6] *Ib.*

[7] Martene *Comm. in Reg. Ben.* xxxi, xxxii.

[8] *Reg.* xxi.

In subsequent adaptations of the Benedictine Rule the office of dean is defined still more exactly. By the Rule entitled of Magister his badge of office was to be a wand, or rather a crook, symbolic of pastoral duties.[3] The same Rule orders two deans for each decade of monks, to relieve one another, so that one or the other may be always with them.[4] They were to preside at table in the refectory.[5] By the Rule of Fructuosus, the dean is to keep watch over the younger monks, even in minute points of deportment, to receive their most secret confessions, and to delate impenitent offenders to the abbat or prior.[6] By the Council of Aachen in 817, the eldest in rank of the deans is to superintend the other deans.[7]

According to Ménard,[8] the practice of the Reformed Benedictines as to the office of dean has varied considerably. With the Cistercians it has been unknown;[9] with the monks of Clugny the deans administered the temporalities of the monastery, being the "villarum provisores" or "suffraganei Prioris."[10] With the monks of Monte Casino, the dean at one time ranked next to the abbat,[1] but afterwards the original institution of deans was revived.[2] In some monasteries, according to Du Cange,[3] there was a "foris decanus" to look after the interest of the monastery outside its walls; in some, a "decanus operis" or "operariorum" over the work-people; in some, the tenants under the monastery, "villici" or "coloni," were called "decani." Hence the "decania" or "decanatus" came to mean sometimes a grange belonging to a monastery.[4] In nunneries there were officials, "decanæ," corresponding to the "decani," in the older sense of the word, to maintain order and discipline.[5]

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[1] *Reg.* xxii: *Reg. Magist.* xi.

[2] *Reg.* xlvi.

[3] Virga. *Reg. Mag.* xi.; cf. Ménard *In Concord. Reg.* xxviii.

[4] *Ib.*

[5] *Ib.*

[6] *Reg. Fruct.* xii.

[7] *Conc. Aquisgr.* lv.

[8] *In Reg. Bened.* xxi.

[9] *Ib.*

[10] *Ib.;* cf. Du Cange *Glossar.* s. v.

In the development of the office of decanus among the canonici may be traced the origin of the dean's office in an English cathedral since the Reformation.

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[1] Cf. Alteser. *Ascetic.* II. ix.

[2] Ménard *v. s.*

[3] *Glossar.* s. v.

[4] *Ib.*

[5] *Ib.*

CHAPTER IV.

VARIOUS OFFICES.

THE word hebdomadary signifies a weekly officer, and was applied in monasteries to those monks who served, for a week in rotation, the office of cook or reader during refection. In Egypt and the Thebaid it was customary in the fifth century for all the monks in turn to act as cooks, and Cassian traces the custom to the monasteries in the East.[1] Similarly Benedict ordered that none should be excused from this duty except on the score of health or urgent occupations, intending thus to promote a fellowship of brotherly feeling; but with his usual consideration, he allowed those who might be unskilful in this sort of work to have assistants.[2]

By the Rule called of Magister each decade ("decuria," ten monks) under two deans was to hold this office for five weeks together, two of the number in turn, with one dean, being told off each week for the kitchen, and the rest under the other dean working in the field.[1] Even abbats, though not unfrequently of illustrious birth, were not always exempt. By the Rule of Ferreolus, written in the south of France during the sixth century, the abbat was to be cook on three great festivals in the year: at Christmas, at Pentecost, and on the Founder's Day.[2] It is recorded of Benedictus Anianensis, the compiler of the *Concordia Regularum*, that he would be intent on literary works while at work in the kitchen.[3] By the Rule of Cæsarius, bishop of Arles in the sixth century, abbats and priors were excused altogether.

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[1] Cassian. *Instit.* IV. xix. Cf. Hieron. *Reg. Pachom. Prol. Epp.* xxii. (ad Eustoch.). But see Cassian. *Instit.* IV. xxii.

[2] *Reg.* xxxv.

In some monasteries it was part of the duty of the hebdomadaries to prepare the dinner-table and to act as waiters. Benedict, indeed, distinguishes the "septimanarii coquinæ" from the "servitores";[4] but the Rule of Isidorus, bishop of Seville in the seventh century, combines the offices;[5] and in the Rule of Magister, the cooks or their assistants are ordered not only to wait at table, but to carry water, chop wood, clean shoes, wash towels, dust the mats in the oratory, and perform other servile tasks.[6] In the same Rule it is provided, that if the weekly officers are negligent in having the table ready for the refection, the abbat himself is to put them to the blush by doing it himself publicly.[1] In the Clugniac and Cistercian monasteries the hebdomadaries were waiters as well as cooks.[2]

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[1] *Reg. Mag.* xvii.

[2] *Reg. Ferreol.* xxxviii.

[3] *Vita Bened. Anian.* xiv.

[4] *Reg. Bened.* xxxv, xxxviii.

[5] *Reg.* xi.

[6] xix.

The week of the hebdomadaries commenced on Sunday by a solemn form of admission in the oratory after matins,[3] or after prime;[4] the monks going out of office, as well as those just coming in, entreating the prayers of their brethren, and the blessing of their abbat. On the Saturday, those whose term of office was over were to deliver up to the cellarer for the use of their successors all the utensils, etc. under their charge in perfect order.[5] It was an old custom, symbolic of humility and brotherly love for the hebdomadaries, closing and commencing their week, to wash the feet of their brethren, during which operation silence was to be kept, or psalms chanted.[6] By the Rule of Magister they were to set about preparing the refection three hours before the hour fixed for it; immediately after nones if, as was usual, the dinner was at midday, immediately after sext for a dinner at three in the afternoon.[7] The refection was to be served on the stroke;[8] for any unpunctuality they were to be mulcted of the ration of bread, or a part of it, for certain days:[9]

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[1] xxiii.
[2] Martene *Reg. Bened. Comm.* ad loc. cit.
[3] *Reg. Bened.* xxxv.
[4] *Reg. Mag.* xix.
[5] *Reg. Bened.* s. v. *Reg. Mag.* s. v.
[6] Cassian. *Instit.* IV. xix. *Reg. Bened.* s. v.
[7] *Reg. Mag.* s. v.
[8] *Reg. Bened.* s. v.
[9] *Reg. Mag.* xix.

the *Concordia Regularum* quotes an anonymous Rule (not the *Regula Cujusdam* usually ascribed to Columbanus), sentencing hebdomadaries guilty of any trivial irregularity to twenty-five strokes of the open hand,[1] just as Cassian cautions them against losing even a pea.[2] Benedict wisely arranged that the cooks should have some refreshment, a piece of bread and a small cup of beer, an hour before the refection on ordinary days; on festivals they were to wait till the midday mass.[3] Various reasons are supposed by commentators for the latter part of this injunction.[4]

The reader aloud during refection[5] held office, like the cooks, for a week; but Benedict ordered, that only those brethren should be readers whose reading was likely to edify.[6] On the Sunday commencing his week of office the reader was to repeat thrice in the oratory the "*Domine, aperi os meum*," and, before beginning to read, was to ask the prayers of his hearers, lest he should be elated with pride.[7] Not a word was to be spoken during the lection, even to ask a question on what was being read, unless the abbat or prior should think it right to interpose an explanation or exhortation; the monks were to help one another to anything wanted without a word.[8] The reader was to have a little bread and wine[1] just before reading, for fear of faintness or exhaustion: he was to dine with the other hebdomadaries after the common meal.[2] The passages for reading were chosen by the abbat either from the Holy Scriptures or lives of saints. Cassian traces this custom of reading aloud at refection from Cappadocia.[3]

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[1] *Reg. Cujusd.* xii.

[2] Cass. *Instit.* IV. xx.

[3] *Reg. Bened.* v. s.

[4] Martene *Comm. Reg. Ben.* ad loc.

[5] lector hebdomadarius.

[6] *Reg. Ben.* xxxviii.

[7] *Ib.*

[8] *Ib.*

The cellarer was an important official in a monastery. As the prior was next to the abbat in spiritual things, so the cellarer, under the abbat, had the management and control of all the secular affairs. He was sometimes called œconomus,[4] dispensator, or procurator. According to most commentators on the Benedictine Rule, he was to be appointed by the abbat with consent of the seniors, and was to hold office for one year or more.[5] The Rule of Benedict provided certain deputies[6] to assist the cellarer in the larger monasteries. These were usually a farm bailiff, a butler, and a gardener.[7]

The granatarius was the receiver of the yearly corn-harvest of the monastery, the keeper of the granary[1] and of farm stock.[2] In some monasteries his office was to provide all household necessaries.[3] The word is also spelt granarius or granetarius. There was an officer in Greek monasteries whose duty it was to waken the monks for nocturnal and matutinal services.[4] The "excitator" had to waken a monk asleep in church.[5]

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[1] So Martene understands "mixtum," not as wine and water.

[2] *Reg. Ben.* xxxxiii.

[3] *Instit.* IV. xix. Cf. Altes. *Ascet.* IX. x. It is interesting to observe, how various offices in a monastery, originally distributed in rotation among the monks, came to be stereotyped as distinct offices.

[4] Οἰκονόμος, Cellararius, Cellarius.

[5] *Reg. Bened.* xxxi.; cf. *Concord. Reg.* xl.

[6] These are quaintly termed in the old Rule "*Comforts to the Cellarer*" or "*Suffragans.*"

[7] granatarius, custos panis et vini, hortulanus. *Reg. Bened.* xxxi.; cf. *Concord. Reg.* lxxi.

The gate-keeper, or door-keeper,[6] was an important personage in the monastery, entrusted as he was with the twofold responsibility of keeping the monks from going out, unless with the abbat's permission, and of allowing strangers to come in. Being thus the medium of communication between the monastery and the world outside, it was imperative that he should be a man of trustworthiness and discrimination. The very lowliness, in one sense, of the office made it all the more honourable among those whose professed aim and object in life was self-abasement.[7]

The importance of keeping the members of the monastery within its walls was emphasized by the old Benedictine rule that each monastery ought, if possible, to have its garden, mill, bakery, supply of water, and necessary trades within its precincts.[1] Only one way of egress was permitted, or at most two. Much depended on the porter being discreet. He was to be a man not only advanced in years, but grave and sedate in character, dead to the world, with a younger and more nimble monk to carry messages for him, if necessary.[2] By the Rule of Magister there were to be two porters, both aged men, one to relieve the other.[3] In the Thebaid, in such esteem was the office held, that the porter was to be a presbyter.[4] Sometimes, in earlier days, when visitors were not so numerous, the porter had also the superintendence of the guest-chamber[5] and of the outer cloister, as well as of the abbat's kitchen.[6] Sometimes, indeed, the porter was promoted to be abbat.[7] Benedict gives an especial emphasis to this chapter in his Rule[8] by ordering it to be read aloud repeatedly, that ignorance might never be pleaded for its infraction.

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[1] Martene *Comm. Reg. Bened.* xxxi.

[2] *Reg. Isidor.* xix.

[3] Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.

[4] 'Αφυπνιστής, evigilator. Du Cange *Gloss. Gr.* s. v.

[5] Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.

[6] ostiarius, janitor or portarius.

[7] Rufin. *Hist. Monach.* xvii.

The porter's cell was to be close to the gateway.[9] He was to inspect all comers through a small barred window or grating in the door, bidding those whom he thought worthy to wait within the door, and the rest without, till he could learn the abbat's pleasure. Every night at the hour of compline he was to take his keys to the abbat or prior. When called away to chapel, to refectory, or to lection, he was to leave the gate locked, neither ingress nor egress being allowed at those times. It was part of his duty to distribute the broken meat, and other scraps of food after meals, to the mendicants waiting outside the door, and to see that the horses, dogs, etc. of strangers were duly attended to.[1]

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[1] *Reg. Bened.* lxvi.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] *Reg. Mag.* xcv.

[4] Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* lxxi.

[5] hospitium.

[6] Martene *Reg. Ben. Comm.* lxvi.

[7] *Ib.*

[8] *De Ostiario.*

[9] *Ib.*

Benedict speaks of visitors knocking at the door or crying out to be let in. Some commentators have imagined that he speaks severally of the rich and the poor.[2] His direction that the porter is to reply "Deo gratias," or "Benedic," has been similarly explained as meant for these two classes respectively. Another reading is "Benedicat." "Benedic" or "Benedicat" is supposed to be intended for a priest porter, "Deo Gratias" for a layman, or the latter to be used on first hearing the knock or cry, the former on accosting the applicant.[3] Anyhow, this curious trait of monastic manners recalls the primitive salutation of Boaz and his reapers in the story of Ruth in the Old Testament. The words were to be spoken gently, reverently, affectionately.

It was one of the laxities of later ages, that this important office was not unfrequently delegated to a lay-brother, technically styled a "conversus," or sometimes to a mere layman. Even so strict an order as the Cistercians allowed one of the two porters in their larger abbeys to be a lay brother.[1]

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[1] *De Ostiario.*

[2] *Ib.*

[3] *Ib.* Cf. Augustine *Enarrat. in Ps.* cxxxii.

There was an official in nunneries whose duties corresponded very closely with those of the porter. It was specially enacted in the anonymous Rule, ascribed by some to Columba, that the "ostiaria," or portress, should be not only aged and discreet, but not given to gossiping.[2]

The alms given by the monastery were called in earlier days "diaconia" or "ministration."[3] The oldest monk was entrusted with it in Egypt,[4] in the East the bursar or œconomus.[5] In Western monasteries the œconomus was house steward or bailiff, appearing for the abbat in courts of law.[6]

The sacrist had to see that the bell was rung for the offices day and night, to take care of all things belonging to the chapel, as well as of the plate, etc. of the monastery, and the clothes of the brethren. He overlooked the tailors and other indoor work-people, giving out the thread and other things required.[7]

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[1] Martene v. s.

[2] *Reg. Cujusdam* iii.

[3] Cass. Collat. XVIII. vii. Gregor. M. *Epp.* xxii.

[4] *Ib.* XXI. i.

[5] Martene *In Cass. Collat.* XXI. viii. ix. In Ireland the "economus or maor" in later times had the custody of the sacred relics belonging to the monastery. *Dict. Chr. Ant.* II. p. 1442, by Rev. J. Gammack, M.A.

[6] *Dict. Chr. Ant.* II. pp. 5, 7.

[7] *Ib.* II. p. 1237. *Monastery*, by Rev. E. Venables, M.A.

CHAPTER V.

NOVICIATE.

As soon as the monastic life began to assume cœnobitic form, all persons desirous of admission into the community had to undergo a period of probation. During this time they were called novices, less commonly beginners,[1] by way of expressing inexperience in their vocation. They were called also postulants,[2] as knocking at the door to be let in, and sometimes, in the East, by a semi-barbarous word of the later empire,[3] curiously descriptive of the intermediate state which they occupied, wearing the monk's tunic, by way of trial, under their ordinary outer robe, which they retained till formally admitted. They were also called converts. These converts were distinct from those who were received into a monastery under age.[4]

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[1] Novitii and incipientes, novelli. Altes. *Ascet.* IV. i. *Reg. Mag.* xc.

[2] Mab. *Præff.* 21.

[3] *ῥασοφόροι.*

[4] Conversi: Pueri oblati, or nutriti. This use of "conversi" and "oblati" must not be confounded with the later use of the word to designate lay-brothers. (Mab. *Præff.* III. i. 21, IV. iv. 59.)

In instituting a noviciate for all who wished to become monks, the founders of monasticism followed as usual the precedent set by some ancient school of philosophy. The Pythagoreans required a noviciate of five years;[1] the Druids, in some cases, one of twenty years.[2] It was necessary as a safeguard for stability of purpose. On the one hand none were to be rejected except for some insuperable impediment; on the other hand none were to be accepted lightly, lest the community should be disgraced by the inconsistencies of its members. On the one side there was the gracious invitation of Him who says, "Come unto Me, all that labour and are heavy laden," and on the other there was the Psalmist's anxious misgiving: "Who shall ascend unto the hill of the Lord?"[3] Thus Benedict of Monte Casino wisely orders that ingress into the monastery must not be too easy,[4] and three centuries later the great Frankish legislator repeats the injunction, adding that no one is to be forced to become a monk against his will.[5] It was difficult to gain admittance into the monastery, because it was still more difficult once there to leave it. "Vestigia nulla retrorsum."

The would-be monk had to wait as a suppliant at the door of the monastery—by the Rule of Pachomius of Tabenna, and of other Egyptian ascetics of his age—seven days,[1] according to Cassian ten days;[2] by the Rule of Fructuosus, bishop of Braga (Bracara) in Portugal, in the eighth century, ten days,[3] afterwards modified to three days and three nights.[4] He was to lie there prostrate, by the Rules of Pachomius and Fructuosus, and, by the latter Rule, fasting and praying, and the porter was to test his sincerity by insults and revilings.[5] If ignorant of it he was to be taught the Lord's Prayer.[6] He was also to be questioned about his motive for seeking admission, and in particular, lest he should prove to be a fugitive from justice, whether he had committed any crime which had made him liable to punishment.[7] In course of time a less austere reception was accorded to postulants. Mabillon explains the passage in the Benedictine Rule which orders them to wait a few days (five days in his interpretation) at the gate,[8] to mean, not outside the monastery, but in a cell specially set apart for this purpose within the cloister.[9]

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[1] Maury *Hist. des Religions de la Grèce antique.*

[2] Thierry *Hist. des Gaulois.*

[3] *Reg. Bas.* vi.

[4] *Reg. Bened.* lviii.

[5] Carol. M. *Capitul. Monast.* A.D. 789, xi.

Though allowed to enter the monastery, the postulant was still an alien there. At first he was placed in the strangers' cell or guest-chamber near the gateway,[1] for a year,[2] or, according to the Rule of Isidorus, bishop of Seville in the seventh century, for three months.[3] In Mabillon's exposition of the Benedictine Rule the postulant was to stay only two months in the strangers' cell before being transferred to the room of the novices.[4] Under the orders of the superintendent of the strangers he was to be busily employed in menial offices for their comfort.[5] Thence he passed, after a shorter or longer sojourn, according to the rules of the monastery, to the cell of the novices, sometimes called the "chamber of those who were still knocking to be let in."[6]

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[1] *Reg.* xlix. Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* xxviii. *Reg. Serap. Macar.*, etc. vii.

[2] *Instit.* IV. iii. xxvi. *Collat.* XX. i.

[3] *Reg.* xxi.

[4] II. *Reg.* iv.

[5] *Reg. Fructuos.* IV. xxi.

[6] *Reg. Pachom.* xlix.

[7] Pachom. *Ib.* *Reg. Ferreol.* v. *Reg. Fructuos.* iv. xxi.

[8] *Reg. Bened.* xxxiv.

[9] Mab. *AA. O. S. B. Præf. Sæc.* IV. vii. 150.

The period of probation varied in its duration and the severity of its discipline. It lasted three years by the Rule of Pachomius,[7] and by the code of Justinian[8] (but a later decree makes this term of three years necessary for strangers only, that is persons coming from a distance); only one year by the Rule of Ferreolus, bishop of Uzès (Uceta) in Southern France in the sixth century,[9] of Fructuosus,[10] and by the so-called Rule of Magister.[11] The former allowed even a shorter term, five months, at the abbat's discretion;[12] and the latter even permitted the novice to reside in a cell not within but near the monastery.[1] Gregory the Great found some abbats in his time too facile in the admission of novices; to correct this laxity, he insisted on a probation of two years at least,[2] and in the case of men that had been soldiers, three.[3] Benedict had been content with a noviciate of one year,[4] of which, according to Mabillon, two months were to be passed in the guests' cell, and the remaining ten in the novices' cell;[5] but according to Martene, all the year in the novices' chamber.[6] This was usually on the east side of the cloister or quadrangle, between the gateway and the east end of the chapel, next to the room of correction, and facing the scholars' chamber and the copyists' room, on the west.[7] In some of the larger monasteries the novices had their own quadrangle, almost like a separate monastery, with their own refectory, dormitory, infirmary, and even, in rare instances, their own chapel; but this ceased with the decrease in the number of candidates for admission.[8]

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[1] Cass. *Instit.* IV. vii. *Cella hospitum.*

[2] Cass. *Ib.* *Reg. Fructuos.* xxi.

[3] *Reg. Isidor.* v.

[4] Mab. v. s.

[5] *Reg. Bened.* lviii. *Reg. Fructuos.* xxi.

[6] Pulsatorium. *Reg. Bened.* v. s. *Capitul. Aquisgr.* A.D. 789.

[7] Pallad. *Hist. Laus.*

[8] *Novell.* V. ii.

[9] *Reg.* v.

[10] *Reg.* xxi.

[11] *Reg. Mag.* xc.

[12] v. s.

All the time of his noviciate the aspirant for the cowl was under very strict tutelage. On entering the monastery he was assigned to the guardianship of one of the older and more experienced of the brethren, who was to report of his behaviour to the abbat.[1] As it would be hardly possible for each novice to have his own senior, it has been supposed that the older monk, spoken of in the rules, was either one of the decani or deans,[2] or more probably the master of the novices, whose special task it was to look after them.[3] They were never to stir out of their chamber without leave.[4] They were never, on any pretext whatever, to go about the monastery at night without a light or without the master.[5] Even so trivial a fault as walking with the head up, instead of bent forward, was to be marked and corrected by the master.[6] Slight allowance was made for their not being as yet inured to the severe discipline of the cloister. From lauds to prime, while the older monks retired to their cells, the novices, with those monks who had not completed five years in the monastery, were to wait in their dormitories, learning psalms under the eye of the official for the week, or hebdomadary.[7] "Leave your bodies outside the gate, all ye who enter the monastery," was the stern welcome of Bernard of Clairvaux to postulants.[8] In the same spirit one of the founders of monachism in the East enjoined on novices ignominious hardships of every kind, and the necessity of very frequent confessions to test their perseverance.[1] In the eleventh century the docility and constancy of novices in England were sometimes tested by floggings.[2]

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[1] v. s.
[2] *Epp.* X. xxiv.
[3] *Ib.* VIII. v.
[4] *Reg.* lviii.
[5] *AA. O. S. B. Præf. Sæc.* IV. vii. 150.
[6] *Comment. Reg.* lviii.
[7] Altes. *Ascet.* IV. iii. IX. vii.
[8] *Comment. Reg. Bened.* lviii.

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[1] *Reg. Bened.* lviii. *Reg. Basil.* xv. *Reg. Isidor.* iv. *Reg. Fruct.* xxi. *Reg. Magist.* lxxxvii. Greg. *Epp.* V. xlix.

[2] *Reg. Fruct.* xxi.

[3] *Comment. Reg. Bened.* v. s.

[4] Cass. *Instit.* IV. x.

[5] *Comment. Reg. Bened.* xxii.

[6] *Ib.* vii.

[7] *Ib.* viii.

[8] Altes. *Ascet.* IV. i.

Opportunities were given to the novice from time to time of reconsidering his determination. On first entering the monastery, before being stripped of the outer garments which he had worn in the world, he was questioned whether indeed, renouncing all other things, he would obey implicitly his new rule of life.[3] By the Rule of Aurelian, bishop of Arles in the seventh century, he was to listen in the waiting-room, or greeting-room, while the Rule was read over to him.[4] He was then to be led into the chapter-house, where, after laying aside his arms, if he carried any, he was again to make a profession of his intention in presence of the abbat and the brethren. He might, if he pleased, send back a farewell message to his friends left behind.[5] At the end of two months, again at the end of eight months, and again at the end of the year, the senior, to whose charge he had been committed, was to read over the Rule to him, bidding him go back at once to the world if he wished.[6] Finally, in the oratory or chapel during divine service,[7] after laying on the altar with his own hand his written petition for admission, and invoking the saints whose relics were there enshrined, in witness of his sincerity, he was formally admitted by the abbat into the order.[1] If, as might often happen, he could not write, he was to put his mark to the petition in place of signature.[2] He was to kneel before the abbat, repeating the verse "Suscipe me" from the Psalter, and after admission he was to prostrate himself at the feet of each of the brethren, kissing their hands and begging their prayers.[3] His secular dress was to be laid by in a wardrobe, in case of his ever unhappily needing it again by being expelled.[4] Abbats were forbidden, under penalty of excommunication, to take any bribe for admission.[5] In the later development of monachism the consent of the brethren in chapter became necessary.[6]

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[1] *Reg. Basil.* vi.

[2] Hospin. *Hist. Monach.* III. xxiii.

[3] *Reg. Pachom.* xlix.

[4] Salutatorium. *Reg.* 1.

[5] Mab. *Præff.* IV. viii. 150.

[6] *Reg. Bened.* lviii.

[7] *Reg. Pachom.* xlix.

The monastic dress was not usually assumed till the noviciate was over.[7] Originally indeed, the dress of a monk differed little from that of ordinary people, except so far as it resembled the dress of the philosophers of the Roman empire, or was distinguished by a Quaker-like simplicity from the fashions of the day. When, however, the monastic life began to be organized more systematically, the dress became a not unimportant part of the rite of initiation. In the same way monks at first were only required to keep the hair short, as a protest against luxury and effeminacy; the tonsure was for them of later date.[1] By the Rule so-called of Magister, the novice, becoming a monk, was to receive the tonsure from the abbat's hands, while the brethren stood round singing psalms.[2] The congregation of Clugny at a later period ordered their novices to have the tonsure as well as all the monastic attire, with the exception of the hood or cowl. But this was a deviation from the old Benedictine rule, which reserved the tonsure with the outer robe for the expiration of the noviciate.[3]

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[1] Mab. *Præff.* v. s. [2] *Reg. Isidor.* v.

[3] *Reg. Bened. Comment.* lviii. *Reg. Magist.* lxxxviii.

[4] *Reg. Bened.* ib.

[5] Conc. *Nicæn.* II. A.D. 787, xix. *Capitul. Francofurt.* A.D. 794, xvi. [6] Hospin. *Hist. Mon.* v. s.

[7] Cass. *Inst.* IV. v. Gregor. M. *Epp.* IV. xliv.

The novice was in every instance required to divest himself absolutely of all his worldly possessions. He was to be examined very particularly on this point, lest by keeping back a single coin for himself he should incur the guilt of Ananias.[4] Even the clothes on his back ceased to be his own.[5] But in the earliest and purest days of monachism, the monastery was not to be the gainer by the novice's liberality, but his own relatives, or the poor.[6] Afterwards he was allowed to choose how his own property should be disposed of, provided always that he retained nothing for himself. By the

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[1] Bing. *Orig. Ecc.* VII. iii. § 6.

[2] *Reg. Magist.* xc.

[3] *Bened.* lv. lviii. Mab. *AA. O. S. B.* I. p. 7, note *a*.

[4] Cass. *Inst.* IV. iv. *Reg. Aurel.* i.

[5] Cass. *ib.* v.

[6] Cass. *ib.* *Reg. Fructuos.* iv.

Rule of Aurelian he might give it away as he pleased.[1] By the Rule of Magister the abbat was to exhort him to entrust his worldly goods to the monastery for the use of the poor, or, if he preferred it, for the common fund of the monastery.[2] There was a curious regulation of the monastery of Ternay in Burgundy[3] that property in kind was to be converted at once into money, in order, probably, to facilitate the distribution of it. Thus, if a novice brought a flock of sheep, the abbat was first to buy it for the monastery, or to sell it by the agency of the prior, and then to hand over the proceeds to the novice to be applied by his direction.[4] It is easy to understand how in the course of time, as monasteries vied with one another in opulence and magnificence, they absorbed the larger share of what a novice was renouncing. Once theirs, it was sacrilege to deprive them of it in any way. But these acquisitions were not always an unalloyed advantage. Sometimes a novice, presuming on his munificence, made himself troublesome to his brethren and to his abbat.[5] Sometimes, if faithless to his profession, he would reclaim his property by litigation or by arms.[6] It was important, therefore, that whatever he gave to the monastery he should give by his own act and deed.[7] And though none might so much as enter the monastery as a postulant, bringing with him anything of his own, the formal and complete renunciation of all that he had in the world was to be made, solemnly, publicly, in writing, before the abbat and chapter, at a later stage of his noviciate.[1] It was even provided in the Rule just quoted that the abbat should record the names of the donor and of the subscribing witnesses, in his own last will and testament, lest at any future time the validity of the gift should be called in question.[2] In the case of a minor his parents were to lay his hand wrapped in the folds of the altar cloth on the altar, and might either vow away his property from him absolutely, or reserve the life interest till he should come of age.[3] When old enough, the novice was bound to execute this promise of renunciation.[4] By the Rule of Magister the parents might either promise all the boy's fortune to the monastery, or might divide it in three equal portions between the monastery, the poor, and his own relatives. In either case they swore on the Gospels to bequeath him nothing.[5]

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[1] *v. s.*

[2] *Reg. Mag.* lxxxvii.

[3] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* I. xxx, lxxi, lxxiii.

[4] *Reg. Tarnat.* v.

[5] *Reg. Fruct.* xviii.

[6] *Ib.*

[7] Ipse suâ manu. *Ib.*

The rules about disqualification for admission varied continually in different countries and at different periods, especially as to the limitations of age. The conflicting decrees of councils and popes, on these points, testify to the difficulty of a compromise between the conflicting claims of the home and the state on one side, and of asceticism on the other. In the East, Basil, without defining more precisely, allowed children to be received very young to be trained in the monastery;[1] but they might go back to their homes, if they wished, before being finally admitted. Once in the monastery, by Benedict's Rule they could not abandon their vocation.[2] Cassian speaks of young boys occasionally among the Egyptian monks.[3] Gregory the Great forbade them to be received before eighteen years of age, but the prohibition has been explained as applying only to the islands in the Tuscan Sea, where the discipline was peculiarly trying.[4] The Emperor Leo fixed sixteen as the limit.[5] The Rule of Aurelian, bishop of Arles in the sixth century, excludes children under ten or twelve, as thoughtless and as requiring a nurse.[6] A canon to the same effect was passed by the Trullan Council at Constantinople, A.D. 692.[7] Pope Leo IX., towards the close of the eleventh century, prohibited novices before they have arrived at years of discretion; Urban II., rather later, forbade them under twenty. After the beginning of the ninth century they were seldom admitted under seventeen years of age.[8] Boys intended for the priesthood were by a decree of the second Council of

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[1] *Reg. Mag.* lxxxvii.

[2] *Ib.* lxxxix.

[3] *Reg. Com. Bened.* lix.

[4] *Reg. Aurel.* xlvi.

[5] *Reg. Mag.* xci.

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[1] *Reg.* xv.

[2] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* III. xxxvii.; cf. *Præff.*

[3] *Collat.* II. xi.

[4] *Epp.* I. i.

[5] *Novell.* vi.

[6] *Reg.* xlvii.

[7] *Conc. C. P.* III. xl.

[8] Hospin. *De Orig. Monach.* III. xxiii.

Toledo (A.D. 531), to be trained in the house of the bishop till they were eighteen years old.[1]

There is the same uncertainty, and there are similar contradictions, as to the right of the parents to devote a child to the noviciate, and of a child to present himself without the consent of his parents. Basil, in the earliest days of monasticism, forbade children to be admitted unless brought by their parents.[2] At a later date the civil law not only discountenanced parents keeping back their children from the noviciate, but even allowed children to be admitted against or without the consent of their natural guardians.[3] Jerome, in a more than usually declamatory passage, upbraids Heliodorus for permitting his affection for his parents to keep him back from the life of a monk.[4] The Council of Gangra, Kiangari in Anatolia, A.D. 365, a council not very favourably disposed to monasticism, condemned strongly sons retiring from the world without their parents' leave, anathematizing all so doing.[5] Alteserra contends, without however much show of reason, that this and similar canons of the Council of Gangra were intended only against monks tainted with heresy.[6] But two councils during the seventh century in Spain, already distinguished among the countries of Europe by its monastic sympathies, decided that children under age were bound by the act of their parents devoting them to the monastery, and must abide by that promise, however unwillingly, in after years.[1] The former of these councils of Toledo, according to Bingham, is the first council that sanctions this perversion of parental responsibilities and of filial obedience.[2] The latter enacts that up to ten years of age the child may be devoted by the parent; that, on attaining that tender age, the child has full power to devote himself with or without their approval, and that, if parents have so much as tacitly allowed a child under ten to wear the monastic dress, he may never return to the world under penalty of excommunication.[3]

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[1] *Conc. Tolet.* II. i.

[2] *Reg.* xv.

[3] Justin. *Novell.* CXX. xli.

[4] Hieron. *Epp.* xiv. § 2.

[5] *Conc. Gangr.* xvi.

[6] *Asceticon* IV. i.

The marriage tie was another source of perplexity. Basil dissuades married persons from entering the monastic life, unless together, lest the husband or wife left alone in the world should be guilty of adultery.[4] Cassian, relating how Theonas, an Egyptian monk, persisted in becoming a monk in spite of his wife's entreaties, seems by his silence to disapprove.[5] The Council of Gangra, already quoted, condemns any such disregard of domestic duties on the part of wives or parents.[6] In the same spirit Gregory the Great cautions husbands against forsaking their wives even for the life of a monk.[7] But these salutary cautions were in practice too often neglected in the fervour of monastic propagandism.

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[1] *Conc. Tolet.* IV. A.D. 633, xlix; *Conc. Tolet.* X. A.D. 656, vi.

[2] *Orig. Ecc.* VII. iii. § 5.

[3] *v. s.*

[4] *Reg.* xii.

[5] *Collat.* viii. ix.

[6] *v. s.* xiv. xv.

[7] Gregor. M. *Epp.* VI. xlviii.

The case of slaves was different. There the monastery was interposing to rescue men from degradation. Yet there, too, was danger of a collision between the monastery and social obligations. Canons and decrees give an uncertain sound, and it could hardly be otherwise on this point. The Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) and the Council of Gangra (A.D. 365) forbade slaves to be admitted without their master's leave.[1] Justinian ordered them to be kept three years, and then allowed them, if not reclaimed, to become monks.[2] Basil makes reference to Onesimus the runaway slave, sent back to his owner by St. Paul.[3] The great Gregory has frequent occasion in his correspondence to advise on this knotty point. Slaves are not to be taken in rashly,[4] but if they behave well in the monastery, they may stay;[5] if not they must be sent back to their masters;[6] a subdeacon, to whom Gregory is writing, is told to pay the money to redeem a slave longing to become a monk.[7] On the whole, without doubt, the influence of the monasteries was often exercised wisely as well as benevolently for the alleviation and gradual extinction of the evils of slavery. For example, a master desiring to become a monk, and bringing a slave with him, found within the walls of the monastery that he had with him "no longer a slave, but a brother in the Lord."[1]

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[1] *Conc. Chalced.* iv. *Conc. Gangr.* iii.

[2] *Novell.* CXXIII. xxxv. Cf. Valentinian. III. *Novell.* xii.

[3] *Reg.* xi.

[4] Greg. M. *App. ad Epist. Decret.* V. vi.

[5] *Epp.* V. xxxiv.

[6] *Epp.* IX. xxxvii.

[7] *Epp.* xl.

The profession of the monk clashed not infrequently with the duties of the citizen. By a decree of Valentinian and Valens, in the latter part of the fourth century, all persons in monasteries, liable to serve in the local senates of the Empire,[2] were ordered either to return to public life, or to sell their estates to others of a more public spirit.[3] The Council of Chalcedon in the same century protested against monks serving in the army or navy.[4] Gregory wisely discouraged public officers from becoming monks, unless they had first passed their accounts, and so cleared themselves of their civic responsibilities.[5] Again, the admission of criminals involved questions of some difficulty. There was, on the one hand, the danger of interrupting the course of justice, by preventing the sentence of the law from being carried into effect, and of bringing down on the monastery harbouring criminals the strong arm of the law, as well as the danger, which Dr. Arnold felt keenly at Rugby, of the moral contagion that might spread itself from an evil example. On the other hand, it might fairly be asked, was not the reformation of offenders one great purpose of the monastery? Cassian speaks of reclaimed robbers, and even murderers, among the monks of Egypt in his day.[1] The Rule of Fructuosus provides that novices of this character may only be received where the abbat is a man of more than ordinary experience and gravity, and that they must always be subjected to a discipline of more than usual rigour.[2] For a somewhat similar reason, as well as not to interfere with a sister institution, monks, by a decree of the Council of Agde in the sixth century, were not to be admitted from one monastery into another.[3] Old age was sometimes a bar to admission in the earlier days of monasticism. Cassian says of some, who desired to become monks, that they were too old to learn.[4] Poverty was never a disqualification. The poorest outcast, craving to be let in, with no possessions of any kind to renounce, either for the monastery or for the poor, had simply to vow like the rest that he would be obedient, and that he would never go away without leave of the abbat and of the brethren; if naked, he was to be clothed.[1] The following list of impediments to becoming a novice in some orders is given by Martene; but a good deal was always left to the discretion of the abbat and chapter. Immature age, heresy, schism, need of a dispensation, illegitimacy, debt, evil notoriety, gross wickedness, bodily infirmity, and, in case of a novice aspiring to the diaconate or priesthood, ignorance of Latin.[2]

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[1] E.g. *Reg. Serapion.* vii. *Reg. Tarnat.* v.

[2] The *Curiales*, or *Curiæ subjecti*, may in some ways be compared to our aldermen or town-councilmen. When summoned to the office, they could not refuse, and if they endeavoured to evade it they were compelled to return. They were responsible for the full payment of the impost due from their locality. The office, being burdensome, was invested with some dignity as a compensation; but came notwithstanding to be regarded as a kind of servitude. (See Ortolan's *Hist. of Common Law*, translated by Richard and Naysmith.) See particularly *Cod. Justin.* I. iii. 12; xxxi. 38; VII. xxxix. 5.

[3] *Cod. Theodos.* XII. i. Bingh. *Orig. Ecc.* VII. iii.

[4] *Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 451, vii.

[5] Greg. M. *Epp.* III. lxv. VIII. v.

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[1] *Collat.* III. v.

[2] *Reg.* xix.

[3] *Conc. Agath.* A.D. 506, lviii.

[4] *Inst.* IV. xxx. Cf. Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* xx. xxviii.

In the earliest ages there was no vow of perpetuity in so many words; only a tacit understanding on both sides that the novice would persevere in his vocation.[3] If, after making his profession, he turned back to the world, he was to forfeit what he had promised to the monastery, and was to be left to make his peace with God as he could.[4] Short, however, of an irrevocable vow, everything was done to insure his perseverance. Should there after all be necessity for his expulsion, his old secular dress was to be given back to him;[5] and he was either to be ejected ignominiously in the daytime, or allowed to steal away under the shadow of night.[6] The mediæval treatment of such offenders was more severe; they were to be immured for life.[7]

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[1] *Reg. Magist.* lxxxvii.

[2] *Comment. Reg. Bened.* lviii.

[3] Bingham, *Orig. Ecc.* iii. § 7.

[4] *Novell. Justin.* v.

[5] *Reg. Bened.* lviii.

[6] Cass. *Inst.* IV. vi.

[7] Hospinian. *De Orig. Monach.* ad loc. cit. *Reg. Bened.*

During the noviciate egress was comparatively easy. After two months of it, the novice might, if he wished, depart in peace, with staff, wallet of provisions, and the abbat's benediction.[1] If, even at the last moment, just before solemnly assuming the monk's habit, he wished to retract, he was free to do so, but under sentence of penance for levity of purpose, and as a man still in God's sight dedicated to the life of a priest, if not to the higher life, as it was regarded, of a monk.[2] A novice receding within the year was by the rules of the Benedictine order of Grandimontenses never to be allowed to try again.[3]

Novices generally enjoyed during their probation the civil exemptions and immunities of monks.[4] Degradation to the noviciate was sometimes a punishment for monks who were disobedient.[5] Benedict ordered the younger monks, just out of their noviciate, to be corrected for their faults by extraordinary fastings.[6]

All these carefully devised regulations about novices show that the founders and reformers of monastic orders regarded the noviciate rightly as a very important part of their system. If the authority of the abbat was the keystone of the arch, the rigorous probation before becoming a monk was the corner-stone of the edifice. Thus the admission of a novice was one of the five principal duties of the abbat and chapter, the other four being the expulsion of renegades, the penances for misconduct, the acceptance of donations or bequests, and any proposition for changing any of the rules of the society.[1] Benedict himself lays down the principle that, while the discipline of novices must not go beyond their power of endurance, still, so far as it goes, it must be adhered to strictly.[2] It was a sagacious remark of Eutropius, a Spanish abbat, towards the end of the sixth century: "We do not want quantity, but quality in our novices."[3] Yet the noviciate and the framing of regulations about it seem to have been left generally to the monastic bodies themselves. The canons of councils, though continually relating to the monks or monasteries, are comparatively silent about the noviciate. It was considered, probably, an integral part of the internal administration of the monasteries. It may be observed that, while in the commencement of monasticism the age for admission was earlier, and the probation longer, the inverse prevailed in course of time. Obviously, the younger the novice, the greater the need of long and elaborate preparation.

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[1] *Reg. Mag.* lxxxviii.

[2] *Mab. Prœff.* IV. vii. 150.

[3] *Comment. Reg. Bened.* xxix.

[4] Alteser. *Asceticon* IV. iv.

[5] Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.

[6] *Reg.* xxx.

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[1] *Comment. Reg. Bened.* iii.

[2] *Reg. Prolog.*

[3] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* VII. xxi. Non quantos [quot] sed quales.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GUEST-HOUSE.[1]

One of the characteristics, perhaps the most commendable, of monasticism, was its unvarying hospitality to all comers. None were to be refused admission; all were to be made welcome,[2] especially monks, clergy, poor, and foreigners.[3] No questions were to be asked[4] unless by the abbat's order.[5] Even passing wayfarers were to be pressed to eat before going on; if they could not wait for the usual hour, the dinner was to be served three hours sooner than usual, or, if they could not stay even so long, they were to have their meals separately.[6] Everything was to be done in courtesy and for the comfort of the guests. The prior, or some other of the brethren, was to meet them, and, after a few words of prayer by way of salutation, as well as by way of precaution against any Satanic illusion, was to give and receive the kiss of peace. On their arriving and departing he was to make obeisance to them, as recognizing in them a visit from the Saviour.[1] He was to lead them straightway on arrival to the oratory or sacristy, usually in Benedictine monasteries close to the entrance gate, and after praying together[2] awhile, was to sit with them, reading aloud, first some holy book,[3] the Scriptures especially,[4] and then, these primary duties attended to, conversing amicably.[5] The abbat himself was to bring water; this was to be done at bedtime; and the footsore were to be rubbed with oil, according to the Rule of Fructuosus,[6] and, with certain brethren in rotation,[7] he was to wash the feet of all without distinction, repeating a verse of the Psalms.[8] In compliment to the guests, the prior, though not the other monks, was excused from observing a fast day, unless one of special obligation.[9] If sick or delicate, some dainties[10] were to be provided for them.[11] Nor were the guests to leave the monastery empty-handed; for the journey the best that the monastery could afford was to be supplied as a parting gift.[12]

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[1] Hospitium, hospitale.

[2] *Reg. Bened.* liii.

[3] *Reg. Pachom.* li.

[4] *Reg. Isidor.* xxiii. Martene *Reg. Bened.* liii. *Reg. Patr.* iv.

[5] *Reg. Tarnat.* vii.

[6] *Reg. Mag.* lxxii.

In the annals of the monastery of Micy[13] it is recorded in praise of an abbat in the sixth century that, though the monastery was then very poor, its guests were always regaled with wine, without being allowed to see that the brethren were drinking only water.[1] Cæsarius of Arles is similarly extolled by his biographer for keeping open house as abbat.[2]

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[1] *Reg. Bened.* liii.

[2] Cf. *Reg. Pachom.* li.

[3] Lex divina.

[4] Martene *Reg. Bened.* liii.

[5] "Omnis humanitas praebenda," *Reg. Bened.* v. s.

[6] x.

[7] So Martene understands "Omnis Congregatio."

[8] *Reg. Bened.* v. s.

[9] *Ib.*

[10] Pulmentaria.

[11] *Reg. Fruct.* x.

[12] Viaticum.

[13] Micianum.

Such hospitality was sure to be largely used in days when travelling was so difficult and dangerous. Benedict wisely provides for a constant influx of strangers.[3] Nowhere indeed in his Rule is its tenderness and forethought more remarkable than about the reception of guests. In some of these arrangements he had been anticipated. Cassian speaks of one of the older monks being stationed by the abbat, with the advice of the seniors, near the entrance of the monastery, to receive strangers as they arrived.[4] Benedict placed them under the general supervision of the cellarer or house-steward[5] and his deputies. Subsequently, a distinct officer was created,[6] whose duties, however, did not extend to the refectory. One of the brethren, selected as a specially God-fearing man,[7] was appointed by

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[1] Mab. *AA. O. S. B.* I. ad fin.

[2] *Vit. Cæs. Arelat.* I. xxxvii. ap. Mab. *ib.*

[3] "Nunquam desunt monasterio," *Reg.* liii.

[4] Cass. *Instit.* IV. vii.

[5] *Reg.* xxxi.

[6] Hospitilarius, corresponding to the Eastern ξενοδόχος; Martene ad loc. cit.; Alteserr. *Asceticon* IX. ix; Du Cange *Gloss. Lat. et Gr.* s. v.

[7] "Cujus animam timor dei habeat."

Benedict to look after the guests' dormitory,[1] usually on the east side of the Benedictine quadrangle, over the hospitium;[2] and two others were told off annually for the guests' kitchen, which adjoined the abbat's kitchen, usually on the south side of the quadrangle,[3] with a window between;[4] these officials were to have extra assistance as occasion required.[5] Every precaution was taken lest the influx of strangers should either disturb the placidity of the "monastery,"[6] or lead to the propagation of silly rumours about it.[7] Their sitting-room, dormitory, and kitchen were all to be separate from those of the monks.[8] None of the monks, unless expressly ordered, might exchange, even in passing, a word with a guest, except to ask a blessing.[9] Nor were the guests to be trusted to themselves without supervision. Care was to be taken that the monks' wallets were not left about in the guests' dormitory; and two of the monks, whose turn it was to help in the kitchen and otherwise for the week,[10] were to keep close to the guests night and day.[11] It is not clear whether Benedict intended the guests to be entertained in the refectory at a separate table with the abbat, or with him in a separate room;[12] Martene

[1] "Cella hospitum," *Reg. Bened.* liii.

[2] Whittaker's *History of Whalley*, 4th ed. 1874, p. 124.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] Martene, ad loc.

[5] *Ib.*

[6] Domus Dei, *Ib.*

[7] *Ib.*

[8] *Ib.;* cf. lvi.

[9] *Ib.;* cf. *Reg. Mag.* viii.

[10] Hebdomadarii.

[11] *Reg. Mag.* lxxix.

[12] *Reg. Bened.* lvi.

thinks in the refectory.[1] The abbat on these occasions might invite a few of the brethren to his table, leaving the charge of the rest to the prior, and might make some addition to the ordinary fare.[2] It was strictly forbidden by the Council of Saragossa (A.D. 691) for lay persons to be lodged in the quadrangle of the monastery,[3] even with the abbat's special permission, lest contact with them should demoralize the brethren or give rise to scandals; they were to be lodged in a separate house within the precincts.[4]

Benedict orders that monks coming from another country may, if orderly, prolong their stay in the monastery[5] for one, two, or even three years;[6] and that any suggestions which they make for its better management are to be welcomed as providential.[7] They are then either to be dismissed kindly,[8] or formally admitted; not, however, unless they bring commendatory letters from their former abbat, or otherwise give proof of his consent. Once admitted, they may be promoted without delay at the abbat's discretion to places of authority, as may clergy similarly admitted.[9] Laymen, willing to stay on, are either to take the vow, or to make themselves useful to the monastery in some sort of work in return for board and lodging.[1]

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[1] *Reg. Comment.* ad loc. cit.; cf. *Conc. Aquisgr.* xxvii.

[2] *Reg. Bened.* lvi. Martene ad l. c. Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* V. xiii.

[3] "Intra claustra."

[4] "Intra septa." *Conc. Cæsar-August.* A. D. 691; cf. Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* XVIII. xv.

[5] *Reg.* lxi.

[6] Martene *Reg. Comment.* l. c.

[7] *Reg. Bened.* ib.

[8] "Honeste."

[9] *Ib.*

It was a part of the discipline of candidates for the noviciate to wait on the guests in their sitting-room,[2] according to the Rule of Benedict, for some days,[3] or according to some later Rules, for three months.[4]

History shows how the simple and frugal hospitality enjoined by Benedict and other monastic law-makers degenerated by degrees into luxury and display, burdensome to the revenues of the monasteries, demoralizing to their inmates, and one of the proximate causes of their fall.

The greeting-room was a reception-room, next to the vestibule.[5] In the narrative of the famous interview between Ambrose and Theodosius, the bishop is described as sitting in his reception-room before going to the church;[6] and Gregory the Great speaks of a bishop as proceeding from his reception-room to church.[7] Bingham corrects the opinion of Scaliger that the place spoken of by Theodoret was a part of the bishop's palace used for entertaining strangers, and pronounces it a place adjoining the church[1] for the bishop to receive the salutations of the people coming for his blessing, or on business.[2] It is recorded of St. Martin of Tours that he sat on a three-legged stool in a room of this kind, in preference to using the bishop's throne, which was there,[3] and that on his visitations he spent night and day in this room.[4] In this parlour the Rule of the convent was read over to candidates for admission.[5] The nuns, and even the abbess, were forbidden to see any stranger here alone;[6] and by the Council of Macon (A.D. 581) bishops, priests, and deacons, as well as laymen, were prohibited from entering the reception-room of a nunnery, Jews especially being excluded.[7] On the same principle, women, even nuns, were excluded from the bishop's greeting-room.[8] In a Benedictine monastery this chamber was usually on the east side of the quadrangle, between the chapter-house and the south transept of the church.[9]

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[1] *Reg. Mag.* lxxix.

[2] Cella hospitum *or* hospitium.

[3] *Reg.* lviii.

[4] *Reg. Isid.* v. *Reg. Fruct.* xxi. Ménard *Ad Bened. Anian. Concord. Regul.* xii.

[5] Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v. Salutatorium (receptorium; salle d'entrée, parloir). It adjoined the proaula or proaulum.

[6] Theodoret. *Ecc. Hist.* V. xviii.

[7] Greg. M. *Epp.* IV. liv.

A room of this kind was used, according to Mabillon, for robing, for hearing causes, for keeping relics in, and sometimes for temporary residence.[1] According to Ménard, there was a similar room for the use of the priests.[2]

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[1] Exedra ecclesiae adjuncta. Du Cange v. s.

[2] Bingh. *Orig. Ecc.* VIII. vii. § 8. Cf. Vales. *Annotat. in Theodoret.* c.

[3] Sulp. Sev. *Vit. S. Martin.*

[4] Sulp. Sev. *Epp.* i.

[5] *Reg. Aurel. ad Virg.* i.

[6] *Reg. Donat. ad Virg.* lvii. *Reg. Cæsarii ad Virg.* xxxv.

[7] *Conc. Matiscon.* ii. The reading in the text "extra salutatorium," obviously wrong, is corrected by Labbe in the margin to "infra." The "oratorium," mentioned here and in the passage quoted above from the Rule of Donatus, is perhaps another place.

[8] Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.

[9] Whittaker's *Hist. of Whalley*, p. 124.

This receiving-room or audience-chamber seems identical with the vestry where the vessels for use in church were kept.[3]

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[1] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* IV. i. p. 370; cited by Du Cange, *Gloss. Lat.* v. s. Cf. Sulp. Sev. *Epp.* i.

[2] Bened. Anian. *Concord. Regul.* V. xxv. Cf. Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* II. i.

[3] Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* Sacrarium.

CHAPTER VII.

DISCIPLINE.

Monastic punishments were of two kinds, corporal and spiritual, and, in each kind, more or less severe, according to the nature of the offence or the founder's ideas of discipline. Instances of both kinds occur very early in the history of Monasticism. Thus Basil of Cæsarea speaks of various degrees of excommunication —from joining in the chanting, from choir, and from meals,[1] while about the same date Jerome and Ruffinus make mention of fastings as a punishment;[2] Augustine speaks of offending monks[3] being anathematized, if incorrigible after reproofs, and of their excommunication by their superiors of higher or lower rank, the excommunication by the bishop being the severest punishment of all.[4] A passage in one of his letters implies his approval of flogging as a chastisement.[5] In the writings of

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[1] *Serm. de Mon. Instit.*

[2] Hieron. *Ep. ad Nepotian.* Ruffin. *De Verb. Sen.* xxix.

[3] Fratres.

[4] *De Corrupt. et Grat. ad Valent.* xv. [5] *Ep. ad Marcellin.* I. ix.

Cassian, early in the fifth century, monastic discipline becomes more closely defined. For slighter offences, such as coming late to prayers or work, making a mistake in chanting, breaking anything, or speaking to any other monk than the one who shares the cell, the offender is to prostrate himself in the chapel during divine service, or to make genuflexions till allowed by the abbat to cease.[1] Cassian tells a story of an Egyptian monk doing public penance for having dropped three peas, while acting as a cook for the week.[2] For graver offences, as bad language or greediness, the punishment is flogging or expulsion.[3] For lingering after nocturns instead of going at once to the cell, a monk is to be excommunicated;[4] no one being allowed to pray with him till he has been publicly absolved.[5] Cassian speaks of a slap or buffet as a punishment among monks.[6] Palladius, about the same date, in describing the monks of Nitria, relates that three whips or scourges hung from a pillar in a part of the church apparently corresponding to a chapter-house: one for the correcting of robbers, one for unruly guests, one for the monks.[7] He speaks also of confinement in a cell.[8] About half a century later the Council of Chalcedon pronounces anathema on a monk returning to the secular life.[9] Being, as a rule, at that date still laics, monks thus offending were anathematized, not degraded. Dorotheus, an archimandrite in Palestine, very early in the seventh century speaks of fasting as a punishment for monks.[1] One of the strangest instances of monkish severity in the East is in the *Scala* of Joannes Climacus (sometimes called Scholasticus)[2] of Mount Sinai, in the preceding century, who speaks of offenders being dragged by a rope through ashes, their hands bound behind their backs, and flogged till those who witnessed the punishment howled; afterwards they were to lie prostrate at the church door till absolved after public confession.[3] In the West, also, prior to the Benedictine Rule, monastic discipline was very rigorous.

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[1] Cassian. *Inst.* IV. xvi.
[2] *Ib.* IV. xx.
[3] *Ib.* IV. xvi.
[4] *Ib.* II. xv.
[5] *Ib.* II. xvi.
[6] Alapa *Coll.* XIX. i. Cf. Greg. M. *Dialog.* I. ii. II. iv.
[7] *Hist. Laus.* ii.
[8] *Ib.* xxxii, xxxiii.
[9] *Conc. Chalced.* vii.

Each monastery had its own code; but, probably, in Southern Europe Cassian's influence was felt largely, In the Tarnatensian Rule,[4] the Rule of a monastery in south-eastern France which Mabillon identifies with that of Ternay, near Vienne,[5] a monk who fasts is to be chidden.[6] In the Rule of Ferreolus, bishop of Uzès, in Languedoc, about the same date, a fast of three days is imposed for jesting during lections,[7] and thirty days' silence for railing.[8] But the anonymous

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[1] *Doctrina.* xiv. ap. Duceau. *Auctuar.* i. 743.

[2] Not Joannes Scholasticus, of the same date, of Antioch and Constantinople. Cave, *Hist. Litt.* s. v.

[3] *Scala* iv.

[4] c. 550 A.D.

[5] *Ann. O. S. B.* I. App. ii. Disquis. 5.

[6] xiii.; cf. Bas. *Constit. Monast.* xiii.

[7] xxiv.

[8] xxii.

Rule, supposed by Ménard to be the Rule of Columba,[1] is stricter still, especially against the murmuring or refractory: even a thoughtless word is visited with imprisonment.[2] Columbanus, of Luxeuil and Bobbio,[3] trod in the steps of his ascetic predecessor. Six blows were the penalty for such offences as speaking at refection, not responding to the grace, not being careful to avoid coughing in chanting, etc. For other similar peccadilloes the punishment was an imposition of Psalms to be learned by heart, or complete silence for a time.[4] Darker offences were visited with proportionate severity. Thus for a perjury the penalty was solitary confinement on bread and water for three years.[5]

The milder discipline of Benedict gradually extended itself, in the sixth and seventh centuries, from Italy even into parts of Europe already occupied by other Rules, as was the land of the Franks by that of Columbanus. He prescribed two reproofs in private, followed by one in public, before proceeding to severer remedies.[6] If these were ineffectual, then ensued excommunication, or for those too young, or otherwise disqualified for spiritual censures, corporal punishment.[7] The incorrigible were to be flogged and prayed for; and, as a last resource, expelled; if re-admitted, they were to be placed in the lowest grade.[1] A breakage or waste was lightly regarded unless unconfessed;[2] and the confession of several faults was to be made, not in public, but to the dean or to another superior.[3] Only the contumacious, after four admonitions, were to be subject to the regular discipline—flogging, with, probably, solitary confinement on bread and water.[4]

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[1] *c.* 561 A.D. [2] viii. [3] *c.* 590 A.D.

[4] Impositio, Superpositio. *Reg. Columban.*

[5] Columban. *De. Penitent. Mensur.* xxxii. Cf. pass.

[6] *Reg. Ben.* xxiii. [7] xxviii.

Where not adopted as a whole, the Benedictine Rule was frequently incorporated with other Rules. Thus the Rule of Isidore of Seville, in the first part of the seventh century, though more minute in its distinctions, resembles the Benedictine code of punishment.[5] Donatus of Besançon, about the middle of this century, himself a pupil of Columbanus, blended the two Rules in one: discipline with him seems to mean flogging or solitary confinement;[6] silence or fifty stripes is the penalty for idle words.[7] Later in the century, Fructuosus of Braga in Portugal, founder of the great monastery of Alcata (Complutum) near Madrid, borrowed largely from Benedict.[8]

The Council at Vern, near Paris (755 A.D.), speaks of a prison-cell or flogging-room.[9] The Harmony of Monastic rules, compiled in the ninth century by the namesake of the founder of the Benedictines, contains a gradation of punishments, which is on the whole equitable, but too minute.[1] In the twelfth century the influence of Petrus Damiani introduced a rigour hitherto unknown within the walls of Monte Casino; each monk, after his confession every Friday, was to be whipped, by himself or by others, in cell, chapter, or oratory.[2] In the famous monastery of St. Gall, in Switzerland, as in the Nitrian monasteries of the fifth century, the whip for similar purposes was suspended from a pillar in the chapter-house.[3]

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[1] *Reg. Ben.* xxix; cf. Greg. M. *Epp.* X. iv. xxxix. IX. xix.

[2] xlvi.

[3] "Seniori suo," xlvi.

[4] iii. lxv.

[5] *Reg. Isidor.* xvii; cf. Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* III. xxxvii. XII. xlii.

[6] *Reg. Don. ad Virg.* ii.

[7] *Ib.* xxviii.

[8] *Reg. Fruct.* xvii.; cf. *Mab. Ann. O. S. B.* III. xxxvii.

[9] Locus custodiæ; pulsatorium. *Conc. Vern.* vi.

Voluntary flagellations, or self-scourgings, as a recognized part of monastic discipline, began about the eleventh century, at the suggestion of Petrus Damiani,[4] or according to Mabillon,[5] rather earlier.[6]

Though the rule of the canons was easier than that of the monks their code of punishments was severe.

By Chrodegang's Rule, any canon failing to make a full confession at stated times twice a year, was to be flogged or incarcerated.[7] Any canon guilty of theft, murder, or any grave offence was liable to both these penalties: he was, besides, to do public penance by standing outside the chapel during the "hours," and by lying prostrate at the door as the others were going in and out, and to practise extraordinary abstinence, until absolved by the bishop.[1] Any canon speaking to one excommunicated incurred excommunication himself.[2] The refractory or contumacious were, after two reproofs, to do open penance by standing beside the cross; they were to be publicly cxcommunicated, or, if insensible to such a punishment, flogged.[3] Lesser offences, if confessed, were to be treated lightly; if detected, severely.[4] The measurement and apportionment of penalties was in the hands of the bishop.[5] But certain rules to guide the bishop's subordinates,[6] in the exercise of this directionary power were laid down by the Council at Aachen, 816 A.D. Boys were to be beaten. Older members of the community were, for more venial faults, as neglecting the hours, being careless at work, late at meals, out without leave or beyond the proper time, after three private admonitions, to be admonished publicly, to stand apart in the choir, and to be kept on bread and water. For a graver fault,[7] unless atoned for by spontaneous penance, they were to be publicly excommunicated[8] by the bishop, and to be imprisoned, lest they should taint the rest of the flock.[9] It is to be noted that it seems to have been customary then to have a prison within the precincts of the monastery or canonry,[1] and that disobedience, rudeness, or quarrelling were not, as with monks, classed among things of a darker dye.[2] The same Council, in a subsequent session, enacted a similar scale of punishments for nuns, with the same climax of solitary confinement for the incorrigible.[3] The Rule was to be recited in chapter very frequently.[4]

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[1] Bened. Anian. *Concord. Reg.*

[2] Altes. *Ascet.* VI. iv.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] Richard et Giraud *Biblioth. Sacr.* s. v.

[5] *Acta. SS. O. S. B.* Præf. Sæc. VI. i. 6.

[6] Cf. Boileau (l'abbé) *Hist. Flagell.*

[7] *Reg.*

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[1] Reg. xv. [2] xvi. [3] xvii. [4] xviii. [5] xix.
[6] Prælati inferiores; perhaps deans. [7] Culpa criminalis.
[8] "Damnentur." [9] *Conc. Aquisgr.* cxxxiv.

From the constant use of the scourge in monastic discipline the word discipline came itself to mean flogging,[5] which was an ordinary punishment for certain orders of the clergy as well as for monks and nuns.[6]

To deprive of sight was not a punishment sanctioned by the Benedictine Rule. But in the eighth century some abbats had recourse to this barbarity in the case of contumacious monks. It was forbidden by Charles the Great[7] and by the Councils of Frankfort and Aix-la-Chapelle;[8] and abbats were ordered to confine themselves to the infliction of punishments prescribed in their rules.[1] Even mutilation was practised sometimes by order of the abbat.[2]

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[1] "Ut fit multis in monasteriis."

[2] *Ib.*

[3] *Conc. Aquisqr.* ii. viii.

[4] *Reg. Chrod.* lxix. lxx.

[5] In the *Liber Ordinis. S. Victoris*, xxxiii, quoted by Du Cange, *Gloss. Lat.* s. v., is a full description of the manner in which a monk ought to take punishment.

Sometimes disciplina is used with a qualifying word, as "discip. flagelli," "discip. corporalis"; cf. *Reg. Aurel.* xli.; *Reg. Chrodeg.* iii, iv, xiv. *Capitul.* A. D. 803, V. i.

[6] *Dict. Chr. Ant.* I. 678. "Flagellation," by Rev. G. Mead, M.A.

[7] *Capitul.* A.D. 789, xv.

[8] A.D. 794, xviii., A.D. 817.

By the Benedictine Rule contumacious monks incurred the penalty of the greater or the lesser excommunication, according to the gravity of the offence, but not till admonition, first private and then public, had been tried on them in vain, nor in cases where, owing to moral stupidity, flogging was likely to be more efficacious.[3] These two kinds of excommunication are further defined as excommunication only from the common meal,[4] for slighter faults, and excommunication from the chapel also,[5] for faults less venial. Thus the subdivision of monastic excommunication corresponds in its main features with the more minute subdivisions of ecclesiastical discipline generally.[6] Even under the lighter ban the offender was forbidden to officiate in the choir as reader or chanter, and, according to some commentators on the Rule, he was to lie prostrate before the altar-steps while the others were kneeling. In the refectory he was to take his food alone, after the rest had finished.[7]

A monk under the graver excommunication was debarred, not only from the common board, but also from all the chapel services, as well as from the benedictory salutation, and from all intercourse whatever with his brethren.[1] He was to lie outstretched at the door of the chapel till re-admitted by the abbat; nor even then might he take any public part in the services without express permission.[2] Any monk speaking to an excommunicated brother was by the very act excommunicated himself.[3] But it was kindly ordered by Benedict, that the abbat should send some sympathizing brother to console the offender in his loneliness.[4]

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[1] Cf. *Reg. Bened. Comment.* c. 25. Mabillon *Ann. O. S. B.* IV. Præf. i. 139.

[2] *Dict. Chr. Ant.* I. 4.

[3] *Reg. Bened.* xxiii.

[4] A mensâ.

[5] A mensâ et oratorio.

[6] *Ib.* xxiv, xxv.

[7] Martene *Reg. Comment.* xxv, xxiv.

The duration of the punishment varied, the intention being correctional rather than merely penal. By the Rule of Fructuosus, a monk, for lying, stealing, striking, false-swearing, if incorrigible, was, after flogging, to be excommunicated and kept on bread and water in a solitary cell for three months. By the Rule of Ferreolus, a monk for bad language was forbidden to be present at the mass or to receive the kiss of peace for six months.[6] By the Rule of Chrodegang a canon was excommunicated for what seems so slight an offence as sleeping after nocturns.

It was for the abbat to fix the degree of excommunication.[7] Some commentators argue therefore, that the severest form of monastic excommunication cannot be tantamount to the severest ecclesiastical sentence of the kind.[1]

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[1] *Reg. Bened.* xxv.

[2] Martene v. s. xliv.

[3] *Reg. Bened.* xxvi.

[4] *Ib.* xxvii. Cf. *Reg. Mag.* xiii. xiv.; *Reg. Cæs. Arelat.* xxiii. Id. *ad Virg.* x.

[5] *Reg. Fruct.* xvii.

[6] *Reg. Ferr.* xxv.

[7] *Reg. Bened.* xxiv.

Mabillon cites instances of monks[2] excommunicating lay people not belonging to their order. He relates an excommunication of one of the sisterhood by an abbess in the seventh century.[3] Abbats and abbesses were themselves liable to this penalty. Gregory the Great reproves a bishop for harshness in excommunicating an aged abbat of good repute. The second Council of Tours in A.D. 567 decreed sentence of excommunication against any abbat or prior allowing a woman to enter the monastery.[4]

So soon as there began to be any sort of discipline among the ascetics who dwelt together in a community, expulsion inevitably became a necessary part of it. In the so-called Rule of Pachomius, expulsion (or a flogging) was the penalty for insubordination, licentiousness, quarrelling, covetousness, gluttony.[5] Ménard, however, thinks that this was only expulsion for a stated time.[6] By the Eastern Rule[7] (so called) obstinate offenders are to be expelled. Benedict, with characteristic prudence, prescribed expulsion for contumacy,[1] on the principle that the gangrened limb must be lopped off, lest the rest of the body should be infected with the poison,[2] while, with characteristic gentleness, he allowed such offenders to be re-admitted, if penitent, so often as thrice, on condition of their taking the lowest place among the brethren.[3] Some commentators, however, take this permission as not extending to the case of a monk expelled for such vices as could hardly fail to corrupt the community.[4] The Benedictine reformers generally made expulsion more common and re-admission more difficult. Fructuosus orders all incorrigible offenders to be expelled;[5] and the anonymous Rule, still more severe, enacts expulsion for lying, fornication, persistent murmuring, and even abusive language.[6] At a later period, under the stern discipline of Citeaux, a monk was to be unfrocked and expelled, even for theft above a certain value.[7] Obviously, the frequency or infrequency of such a penalty as expulsion depended on the monastery being regarded rather as a reformatory, or as a place of ideal perfection.

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[1] Martene *Reg. Comm.* xxv.

[2] Columbanus and Theodorus Studita, *Ann. O. S. B.* X. xlvi.

[3] *Ib.* xii. 56.

[4] *Conc. Turon.* II. xvi. See Bened. Anian. *Concord. Reg.* xxx-xxxiv, with Ménard's commentary, and Ducange, *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.

[5] Cf. Cass. *Inst.* IV. xvi.

[6] Bened. Anian. *Concord. Reg.* XXXI. v.

[7] *Reg. Orient.* xxxv.

Monastic codes show that their framers had to guard, on the one hand, against a leniency which might encourage desertion on the part of the monks, tired of their seclusion, and eager for the world, and, on the other, against a severity which might close the door too fast against deserters wishing to be re-admitted. The Rule of Benedict, as on other points, is very lenient to runaways. A monk who escapes from a monastery, like one who is expelled, is to be received again if he vows amendment, even after three desertions,[1] but only into the lowest grade.[2] Some commentators, indeed, take this rule as implying that the abbat may re-admit even after a fourth desertion, though the culprit has no right to require it.[3] But later commentators[4] interpret it more strictly.[5] The first Council of Orleans (A.D. 511) censures abbats lenient to fugitive monks, or who receive monks from other monasteries.[6] The second Council of Tours (A.D. 567) allows fugitives to be re-admitted on doing penance.

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[1] *Reg.* lxxi.

[2] *Ib.* xxviii.

[3] *Ib.* xxix.

[4] Mart. *Reg. Comm.* ad loc. cit.

[5] *Reg.* viii. xvi.

[6] *Reg. Cuj.* vi. viii. xvi. xviii.

[7] Mart. *Reg. Comm.* xxxiii.

In the same spirit of wise tolerance, Benedict is silent as to the steps to be taken to bring back the fugitive, apparently judging it best to leave him alone, if without any desire to return.[7] But Ferreolus prescribes, that the fugitive is to be recalled;[8] and Fructuosus forbids him to be admitted into another monastery, and orders him to be brought back, by force if necessary, as a criminal, with hands tied behind his back.[1] It was enacted by Justinian that a monk returning to secular life should be degraded by the bishop and governor of the province from his civil position, and be sent back with his worldly goods to his monastery; if he deserted again he was to be drafted into the army.[2] A similar decree was passed by the seventh Council of Toledo (A.D. 646).[3] A Council of Constantinople (A.D. 553) sentenced an abbat who should be remiss in seeking to bring back the stray sheep into the monastic fold to deprivation.[4]

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[1] *Reg. Ben.* xxix. Cf. *Reg. Cuj. ad Virg.* xxi.

[2] *Reg. Ben.* xxix. Cf. *Reg. Pachom.* lxxix.; *Reg. Fruct.* xx. *Reg. Cuj.* v. s.

[3] Martene *Reg. Comm.* in loc.

[4] *e.g.* Ménard, Haeften.

[5] Martene, *Reg. Comm.* v. s.

[6] *Conc. Aurel.* I. xix.

[7] Mart. *Reg. Comm.* v. s.

[8] *Reg.* xx.

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[1] *Reg.* xx. [2] *Novell.* cxxiii. [3] *Conc. Tolet.* VII. v.

[4] Later enactments are very severe against fugitives. The Cistercian Rule forbids the reception, even into the lowest rank, of a monk who has deserted twice, or has stayed away more than eleven days. The renegade is in any case to wear a distinctive dress, as badge of his disgrace, and to be excluded from the choir; the abbat who fails to enforce this rule is to do penance. The original statutes of the Carthusians unfrock the renegade; the modern compel him to resume the dress of his Order. The Augustinian Rule tempers severity with mercy. The renegade is to live outside the monastery itself, but under the care of the bishop, and the abbat is to show kindness to him if penitent. Mart. *Reg. Comm.* in loc. cit.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DAILY LIFE.

By the earliest Rules a very spare and coarse diet was prescribed. The Rule of Pachomius ordered one meal a day to be eaten by the brethren together after noon; or a brother might have bread and salt in his cell. An evening meal was allowed for the children and the sick, and in very hot weather for all. Silence was enjoined during meals. Wine was forbidden; but sweets, strange to say, were distributed after the meal, to be taken by each of the brethren to his cell. In Palestine, where Hilarion introduced a similar rule, the monks were to meet together from their separate huts in the evening, to partake of bread and water, reclining on hay. The more genial Rule of Basil, like Benedict's, permitted wine, if necessary. In the West, Cæsarius of Arles forbade flesh, meat, and poultry, except to the sick. Isidore of Seville enjoined a vegetable diet, except on Sundays and holidays. In the East, the refectory was usually cruciform, or in shape of a triclinium with three apses; sometimes there was one refectory for summer, another for winter. In Egypt it was usually a long, narrow room, with a stone table and stone benches. In the West it formed, with kitchens, etc., the southern side of the quadrangle, that it might enjoy the sun and that it might be far from the church.[1]

In his enumeration of Christian duties, Benedict specifies that of visiting the sick;[2] and elsewhere he speaks of it as a duty of primary and paramount obligation for monks,[3] quoting the words of Christ, "I was sick, and ye ministered unto Me." Beyond, however, saying that the sick are to have a separate part of the monastery assigned to them,[4] and a separate officer in charge of them,[5] that they are to be allowed meat and the luxury of baths, if necessary, that they are not to be exacting,[6] and that the brethren who wait on them are not to be impatient, he gives no precise directions.[7] Subsequently, it was the special duty of the guardian of the sick,[8] of the cellarer, and of the abbat himself, to look after the sick;[1] no other monk might visit them without leave from the abbat or prior.[2]

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[1] Abridged from the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, II. pp. 1231, 1240-2; *Monastery*, by Rev. E. Venables, M.A.

[2] *Reg. Bened.* xli.

[3] "Ante omnia et super omnia," xxxvi.

[4] Cf. *Reg. Aurel.* xxxvii. lii; *Reg. Cæsar.* xxx.

[5] Cf. *Reg. Tarnat.* xxi.

[6] "Ne superfluitate sua fratres contristent."

[7] *Ib.*

[8] Infirmarius.

Everything was to be done for their comfort, both in body and soul, that they should not miss the kindly offices of kinsfolk and friends;[3] and while the rigour of monastic discipline was to be relaxed, whenever necessary, in their favour, due supervision was to be exercised, lest there should be any abuse of the privileges of the sick-room.[4] Their guardian must enforce silence at meals, check conversation in the sick-room[5] at other times, and discriminate carefully between real and fictitious ailments.[6] The sick were, if possible, to recite the hours daily, and to attend mass at stated times, and if unable to walk to the chapel, they were to be carried thither in the arms of their brethren.[7] The meal in the sick-room was to be three hours earlier than in the common refectory.[8] The abbat might allow a separate kitchen and buttery for the use of the sick monks.[9] The Rule of Cæsarius ordered that the abbat was to provide good wine for the sick, the ordinary wine of the monastery being often of inferior quality.[10]

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[1] Martene, *Reg. Comm.* iv. *Reg. Cæsar. ad Virg.* xx. *Reg. Cujusd. ad Virgines.* xv.

[2] Mart. l. c.

[3] Cf. *Reg. Fructuos.* vii.; Hieron. *Epp.* xxii. (ad Eustoch.).

[4] Mart. l. c. Cf. *Reg. Pachom.* xx.

[5] Mansio infirmorum intra claustra. *Conc. Aguisgr.* A.D. 816. cxlii.

[6] Mart. l. c.

[7] *Ib.*

[8] *Reg. Mag.* xxviii.

[9] *Reg. Aurel. ad Monach.* liii. *Reg. ad Virg.* xxxvii.

[10] Cf. Mab. *Disquis. de Curs. Gallic.* VI. lxx. lxxi.; Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* III. viii.; Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.

The devotional life of the hermitage or monastery included lengthy prayers and meditations. The whole Psalter was to be repeated, usually in a standing posture, by the Rule of Benedict, in a week; anchorites in earlier days had often repeated it in a day. Very frequent reception of the Holy Communion was enjoined. Silence was enforced, either habitually or during certain hours. Monks were exhorted to confess their faults to one another, very much as in Wesleyan classes.

In the Benedictine Rule monks are forbidden to receive letters or presents without the abbat's leave.[1] Here, probably, the word eulogia is used in its widest sense, for any offering or token of esteem,[2] or more particularly, for bread sent with a blessing. In some monasteries, for instance, of Fulda,[3] these offerings were distributed daily to the monks, who had not already received, in the refectory before their meal; in others this was done only on Sundays and holy-days.[4] In the life of Eligius, in the seventh century, it is related that he used to beg these pieces of blessed bread from the monks of Solignac.[5]

When the abbess who succeeded Radegundis in the convent of Ste. Croix at Poitiers was accused of feasting, she replied that the alleged feasting was only the partaking of these eulogiæ.[1] They were sometimes given by a bishop to an excommunicated person in token of reconciliation.[2]

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[1] Litteras, eulogias, munuscula. *Reg. Ben.* liv. Cf. *Reg. Donat.* liii.

[2] Martene *Reg. Comment.* ad loc.

[3] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* Præf. Sæc. III. vii.

[4] Cf. *Reg. Ben. Comment.* liv.

[5] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* XII. xxii.

Monasticism has never been partial to frequent personal ablutions. On the contrary, it has from the first discouraged them as a form of self-indulgence, and as inconsistent with bodily austerities. Probably this inherent antipathy to bathing and washings was in great measure a result of the reaction from the luxury and licentiousness of the Roman baths under the Empire. Certainly the maxim which places cleanliness next to godliness has no place in the biographies of the saints and heroes of monasticism, even in climates where bathing would seem one of the necessities of life. Jerome warns ascetics against warm baths as morally enervating:[3] and in a letter to one of his female disciples denounces every sort of bathing for women.[4] Augustine allows a bath once a month only.[5] This aversion to bathing is one of the many indications of the tendency which seems inseparable from monasticism to the Manichean notion of matter being intrinsically evil.

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[1] *Ib.* liii. 589 A.D. The other spelling, eulogium, is condemned by Ménard.

[2] *Ib.* III. i. Bened. Anian. *Conc. Regul.* lxi.

[3] Hieron. *Ep. ad Rustic.*

[4] Id. *Ep. ad Lact.*

[5] Aug. *Ep.* cix.

The various monastic Rules agree very closely in discouraging the use of baths. Even the tolerant Rule of the great Benedict only permits them for those who are weak and delicate, forbidding them generally for the young and healthy.[1] Evidently he is speaking only of baths within the walls of a monastery; bathing in a river or lake, or in the sea, being of course out of the question.[2] Hildemarus interprets the expression in the Rule to mean only before the three great festivals, Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide. Other commentators restrict the phrase to Christmas and Easter only; others take it as a permission for the monks to bathe after doing any very dirty work, etc.[3] Similarly Isidore of Seville orders baths to be used very sparingly, only as a remedy, never for gratification.[4] The Rule of Cæsarius of Arles permits them only in cases where the doctor prescribes them, and without any regard to the inclination of the patient.[5] The Rule ascribed to Augustine is to the same effect,[6] and adds that no monk is to go alone to the baths, nor to choose his companions, but that two or three of the brethren are to be told off by the prior for this purpose. In the same way the Council of Aachen (A.D. 817) enacts that the control and regulation of the baths belongs to the prior.[1] The anonymous Rule which has been ascribed to Columbanus orders delinquent monks as a penance to make the necessary preparations for the washing of their brethren's heads on Saturdays, and for their baths just before the great festivals, especially Christmas.[2] Radegundis is said to have built baths for the use of the nuns in the convent of Ste. Croix, which she founded at Poitiers; before long some irregularities occurred which the abbess was accused of conniving at in regard to the use of these baths.[3]

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[1] "Tardius concedantur," *Reg. Ben.* xxxvi.

[2] Cf. Martene ad loc.

[3] Martene ad loc.

[4] *Reg. Isid.* xx.

[5] *Reg. Cæsar.* xxix.

[6] *Reg. Aug.* xxix.

It was the primitive custom for monks to sleep all together in one large dormitory.[4] Not till the fourteenth century[5] was the custom introduced of using separate sleeping cells. By the Rule of Benedict all were to sleep in one room, if possible[6] with the abbat in their midst,[7] or in larger monasteries ten or twenty together with a dean.[8] Only the aged, the infirm, the excommunicated were excepted from this arrangement.[9] Each monk was to have a separate bed.[10] They were to sleep clothed and girded.[1] The founder probably intended that the monks should sleep in one of the two suits ordered by his Rule[2]; but in course of time the words were loosely interpreted as meaning only the woollen tunic.[3] It was particularly enjoined, puerile as the caution sounds, by Benedict and others, that the monks were not to wear their knives in bed.[4] A light was to be kept burning in the dormitory all night.[5] All the monks were to rise at a given signal.[6] The dormitory was to be kept under lock and key till morning.[7] The sleeping-room for stranger monks was usually close to the great dormitory, and not far from the chapel.[8]

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[1] *Conc. Aquisgran.* vii.

[2] *Reg. Cuj.* xii. Cf. Columban. *Pœnitent.* ap. Ménard *Comment.* ad loc.

[3] Gregor. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* X. xvi. Cf. *De Ant. Ecc. Rit.*

[4] *Alteser. Ascet.* IX. vii, viii.

[5] Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.

[6] *Reg. Ben.* xxii.

[7] Cf. *Reg. Mag.* xxix.; *Reg. Ben.* xxii.

[8] *Reg. Ben.* xxii.; cf. *Reg. Cæsar. ad Mon.* iii.; *Reg. ad Virg.* vii. 7; *Reg. Aur.* vi.; *Reg. Ferreol.* xvi, xxxiii.

[9] *Reg. Cujusd.* xiii.

[10] *Reg. Ben.* v. s. *Reg. Cæsar.* v. s. *Reg. Fruct.* xvii.

In the first fervour of monastic zeal it was a common practice to sleep on the bare ground.[9] Others slept on mats;[10] frequently these were made by themselves,[11] and Augustine speaks of some strict Manicheans as sleepers on mats.[12] The Rule of Benedict allows coverlet, blanket, and pillows.[13] In Egypt the mattress was considered a luxury in the fourth century, not permissible except for guests.[1] Some of the monks of Tabenna slept in their tunics, half sitting, half lying.[2]

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[1] *Reg. Ben.* v. s. *Reg. Mag.* xi. *Reg. Cujusd.* v. s.

[2] *Reg. Ben.* lv.

[3] Martene ad loc. cit.

[4] *Reg. Ben.* xxii. *Reg. Mag.* xi.

[5] *Reg. Ben.* v. s. *Reg. Mag.* xxix. *Reg. Cujusd.* v. s.

[6] *Reg. Monast.* pass.

[7] Mart. *Ad Reg. Ben.* xlviii.

[8] Mart. *Ad Reg. Ben.* liii. Cf. *Capitul. Aquisgran.* lxviii.

[9] Cf. Altes. *Ascet.* IX. viii. *Vit. S. Anton.* vi. Theodoret. *Philoth.* i.

[10] Mattæ, stramenta. Cassian. *Coll.* I. xxiii. XVIII. xi. Ruffin. *Verb. Senior.* II. xxix, cxxv.

[11] *Vit. Pachom.* xliii.

[12] Mattarii *Cont. Faustin.* V. v.

[13] Sagum, læna, capitale.

The time allowed for sleep was for Egyptian monks in the commencement of monachism very short indeed.[3] Arsenius is said to have contented himself with one hour only. Ruffinus speaks of others who allowed themselves four hours in the night for sleep, assigning four for prayer, four for work.[4] Even Benedict, though far more tolerant, forbad his disciples to retire to rest again after nocturns.[5] But this rule was not adhered to strictly.[6] The rules of the canons in the eighth and ninth centuries on this point were very similar to those of the monks. Chrodegang ordered all to sleep in one chamber, unless with the bishop's license.[7] This was enforced on the canons in their monasteries, and on those dwelling under the bishop's roof, by the Council of Tours (813 A.D.).[8] The Council at Aachen, three years later, ordered bishops to see that the canons slept in one dormitory,[9] and in its second session repeated the decree of the Council at Châlons (813 A.D.), that all nuns except the sick and infirm should sleep in one dormitory on separate beds.[1] Grimlaic, in his Rule for solitaries, orders that no fancy work is to be allowed on the coverlets.

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[1] Cass. *Coll.* XIX. vi.

[2] *Vit. Pach.* xiv. (in Rosweyd *Vit. Pat.*).

[3] Cass. *Inst.* V. xx. *Coll.* XII. xv. XIII. vi.

[4] *Verb. Sen.* cxcix.

[5] *Reg.* viii. Cf. Cass. *Inst.* II. xii.

[6] Martene *Reg. Comm.* ad loc.

[7] *Reg.* iii.

[8] *Conc. Turon.* III. xxiii, xxiv.

[9] *Conc. Aquisg.* xi. cxxiii.

A distinctive uniform was no part of monachism originally. Only it was required of monks that their dress and general appearance should indicate gravity, and a contempt of the world.[2] Hair worn long was an effeminacy.[3] The head shaven all over was too like the priests of Isis.[4] In popular estimation persons abstaining from the use of silken apparel were often called monks.[5] Jerome defines the dress of a monk merely as cheap and shabby,[6] and the dress of a nun as sombre in tint, and coarse in texture.[7] He warns the enthusiasts of asceticism against the eccentricity in dress which was sometimes a mere pretence of austerity, a long untrimmed beard, bare feet, a black cloak, chains on the wrists.[8] So Cassian protests against monks wearing wooden crosses on their shoulders.[9] Hair closely cut, and the cloak,[10] usually worn by

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[1] *Conc. Cabill.* lix. Cf. *Conc. Mogunt.* A.D. 813, ix. *Conc. Turon* II. A.D. 567, xiv.

[2] Bingh. *Orig. Ecc.* VII. iii. § 6.

[3] Aug. *De Op. Mon.* xxxi. Hieron. *Epp.* xxii. (ad. Eustoch.). Cf. Epiphan. *Adv. Hœres.* lxxx. vii.

[4] Hieron. *Comm. in Eze.* xliv. Ambros. *Epp.* lviii. (ad Sabin.).

[5] Hieron. *Epp.* xxiii. (ad Marcell.).

[6] *Epp.* iv. (ad Rustic.); *Epp.* xiii. (ad Paulin.).

[7] *Epp.* xxiii. (ad Marcell.).

[8] *Epp.* xxii. (ad Eustoch.). Cf. Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* lii.

[9] *Coll.* VIII. iii.

[10] Pallium.

Greek philosophers and lecturers, were at first badges of a monk in Western Christendom; but even these were not peculiar to him. The cloak was often worn by other Christians, exposing them to the vulgar reproach of being "Greeks" and "impostors,"[1] and any one appearing in public with pale face, short hair, and a cloak, was liable to be hooted and jeered at by the unbelieving populace as a monk.[2] Cassian is more precise on a monk's costume, and devotes to it the first book of his Institutes. But he allows that the sort of dress suitable for a monk in Egypt or in Ethiopia may be very unsuitable elsewhere, and he condemns sackcloth, or rather, a stuff made of goat's hair or camel's hair,[3] worn outside, as too conspicuous. He speaks in detail of the various parts of a man's dress; the hood,[4] which is to remind the monk to be as a little child in simplicity; the sleeveless tunic,[5] in Egypt made of linen, which reminds him of self-mortification; the girdle or waistband,[6] to remind him to have his loins girded as a good soldier of Christ; the cape over the shoulders;[7] the sheepskin or goatskin round the waist and thighs;[8] and for the feet the sandals,[9] only to be worn as an occasional luxury, never during the divine service.[10]

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[1] Bingh. *Orig. Ecc.* I. ii. § 4.

[2] Salv. *De Gubernat.* VIII. iv.

[3] Cilicina vestis.

[4] Cucullus.

[5] Colobium.

[6] Cingulum.

[7] Mafors, palliolum.

[8] Melota, pera, penula.

[9] Caligæ.

[10] Cassian. *Inst.* I. i-x. Cf. Ruff. *Hist. Mon.* iii.

Benedict characteristically passes over this item in the monastic discipline very quickly, summing up his directions about it in one of the last chapters of his Rule, and discreetly leaving questions of colour and material, as indifferent, to be decided by climate and other circumstances. He lays down the general principle, that there are to be no superfluities, adding, that a tunic and hood, or, for outdoor work, a sort of cape to protect the shoulders,[1] instead of the hood, ought to suffice generally; two suits of each being allowed for each monk, and some suits of rather better quality being kept for monks on their peregrinations. The worn-out articles of dress are to be restored to the keeper of the wardrobe, for the poor. Benedict, however, to avoid disputes, appends a short list, corresponding very nearly to Cassian's, of things necessary for a monk, all of which are to be supplied to the brethren, at the direction of the abbat, and none of them to be the peculiar property of any one.

The only addition to the Egyptian costume is that of socks [2] for the winter. Benedict allows trousers [3] on a journey, and on some other occasions; underclothing he is silent about; consequently, commentators and the usages of particular monasteries differ on this point. To the list of clothing Benedict adds, as part of a monk's equipment, a knife,[1] a pen,[2] a needle,[3] a handkerchief or hand-cloth,[4] and tablets for writing on.[5] He specifies also, as necessaries for the night, a mattress,[6] a coverlet,[7] a blanket,[8] and a pillow.[9] Martene quotes Hildemarus for the traditional custom, by which each monk was provided with a small jar of soap for himself, and of grease for his shoes.[10] Laxity of monastic discipline soon began to provoke fresh enactments about dress, sometimes more stringent and more minute than at first.[11] Councils re-enact, and reformers protest. The Council of Agde (A.D. 506), and the fourth Council of Toledo (A.D. 633), repeat the canon of the Council of Carthage (A.D. 398) against long hair.[12] Ferreolus, in Southern Gaul (A.D. 558), repeats the old edict against superfluities, and forbids his monks to use perfumes, or wear linen next the skin.[13] In Spain, Fructuosus of Braga (A.D. 656) insists on uniformity of apparel. Irregularity about dress seems with monks, as in a regiment, to have been an accompaniment of demoralization.[14]

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[1] Scapulare.

[2] Pedules.

[3] Femoralia.

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[1] Cultellus.

[2] Graphinum. The Benedictine "bracile" apparently corresponding with "cingulum," and the "scapulare" with "palliolum." [3] Acus. [4] Mappula. [5] Tabulæ.

[6] Matta. [7] Sagum. [8] Læna.

[9] Capitale, *Reg. Ben.* lv. [10] *Reg. Ben. Comm.* ad loc.

[11] E.g. *Reg. Isidor.* xiv. *Reg. Mag.* lxxxi.

[12] *Conc. Agath.* xx. *Conc. Tolet.* IV. xl. *Conc. Carthag.* IV xliv. [13] *Reg. Ferreol.* xiv, xxxi, xxxii.

[14] Cf. Ménard *Conc. Regul.* lxii.; Alteserr. *Ascet.* v.; Middendorp *Orig. Ascet. Sylva.* xiii.

The Greek Euchologion gives an office for the assumption of the ordinary habit of a monk, and another for assuming the greater or angelic habit, distinctive of those ascetics who were thought to have attained the perfection of monastic life[1].

One of the few articles of dress specified by Benedict is the hood;[2] and this has commonly been considered the badge of monks, as in the old proverb: "Cucula non facit monachum." Benedict ordered the "cuculla," or hood, to be shaggy for winter, and for summer of lighter texture;[3] and a "scapulare" to be worn instead out of doors, as more suitable for field-work, being open at the sides. The "cuculla" protected the head and shoulders, and, as being worn by infants and peasants, was said to symbolize humility, or, by another account, it was to keep the eyes from glancing right or left.[4] It was part of the dress of nuns, as well as of monks,[5] and was worn by the monks of Tabenna at the mass.[6] If, as the words seem to say, it was their only clothing on that occasion, it must of course have been longer than a hood or cape. Indeed, "cuculla" is often taken as equivalent to "casula" (from "casa"), a covering of the whole person; in later writers it means, not the hood only, but the monastic robe, hood and all.[1] These monks of Tabenna, or Pachomiani, like the Carthusians, drew their hoods forwards at meal-times, so as to hide their faces from one another.[2] The "cappa" (probably akin to our "cape"), in Italy, seems to correspond with the Gallic "cucullа," and both were nearly identical, it is thought, with the "melota" or sheepskin of the earliest ascetics;[3] and so with the "pera" or "penula."[4] The "caputium" was a covering for the head, worn by monks, sometimes sewn on the tunic, as a hood.[5] Of course it is difficult to identify precisely the technical names for dress in various countries, and in a remote period.

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[1] See Daniel's *Codex Lit.* iv. 659.

[2] Cuculla, cucullus, cucullio, *Reg. Ben.* lv.

[3] Cf. *Conc. Reg.* lxii.

[4] Cass. *Inst.* I. v. Sozom. *Hist. Ecc.* III. xiii. xiv.

[5] Pallad. *Hist.* I. xli.

[6] *Ib.* I. xxxviii.

Like the terms "conversus" and "donatus," the word "oblatus," in connection with the monastic system, has several meanings, which must be carefully distinguished, as expressing different ideas belonging to different periods in the history of monasticism. In every sense the "oblati" were a link between the world and the monastery.

In the first instance, the "oblati" were children brought by their parents to the monastery, and there dedicated to the monastic life. In this sense the

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[1] "Vestis cucullata." *Reg. Comm. S. Bened.* lv. Cf. Mab. *Ann.* v. l.

[2] Pall. xlviii. Ruff. *Vit. Mon.* iii.

[3] Cass. *Inst.* I. viii. Pall. *Hist. Laus.* xxviii.

[4] According to Al. Gazacus ad loc. citat. the "pellis caprina dependens ab humeris ad lumbos." *Isidor. Orig.* XIX. xxi. ap. *Reg. Comm. S. Bened.*

[5] *Reg. Comm. S. Bened.* lv.

"oblati" were distinct from the "conversi," persons of mature age taking on themselves the vows.

When monks, in course of time, ceased to be regarded as laymen, and began by the very fact of their profession to be ranked with the clergy, and as the original simplicity of the monastic life began to be lost, the need came to be felt of a class of persons in every monastery who should assist the monks in some of their more ordinary occupations, and so leave them more free for the services of their chapel and for meditations in their cells. At the same time these assistants were useful for purposes outside the walls of the monastery, and could be sent by the abbat or prior on various errands of a secular kind without the monks being disturbed from their devotions.[1] In this sense the "oblati" were lay brothers, or, as Ménard explains,[2] the servants or domestics of the monastery,[3] receiving their food and a distinctive dress from the abbat, but not bound by the same vows as their brethren in the monastery.[4] The third Council of Arles (A.D. 455) speaks of a "lay multitude subject to the abbat, but not owing any subjection to the bishop of the diocese."[5] Sometimes, from humility, a novice, it might be of high rank, of great learning, or already in sacred orders, chose to be admitted into a monastery on this humbler footing.[1] Monasteries gradually enlarged their possessions, and the services of laymen were requisite, not merely within the precincts, but to superintend and cultivate the land belonging to the monastery.[2] At a later period a class of "oblati" came into existence, not so closely attached to the monastic system of which they claimed to be members. In some cases persons, without assuming a distinctive dress, or residing within the monastic precincts, devoted their property to the monastery, reserving to themselves the life interest only; in others they bound themselves and their descendants to be its servants or retainers.[3] Of course in cases such as these there was no probation. The promise itself sufficed. These "oblati" or "donati" are described by Alteserra as the associates and deputies of the monks,[4] or as their servants,[5] because they dedicated themselves and their possessions to the monastery without taking on themselves the outward garb either of a cleric or a monk.[6] If, however, the "oblati" assumed the dress, he then became entitled to enjoy the privileges and immunities of the Order.[7] These associates having been objected to in some quarters were formally approved by Pope Urban II. (A.D. 1091).[8] Single, and even married women were sometimes admitted on these conditions.[1] Mabillon speaks of these "oblati" or "donati" as not in any true sense monks,[2] though not uncommonly termed monks of the second order.[3] He quotes a passage from Alcuin, in the eighth century, about a number of lay brothers attached to monasteries,[4] but the term "oblatus" in this sense is of a later century.

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[1] *Reg. Fruct.* xiii. *Reg. Isid.* xx.

[2] *Comm. ad Bened. Anian.* *Concord. Reg.* lxx. 5.

[3] Servi vel famuli, *ib.*

[4] Du Cange *Glossar. Lat.* s. v.

[5] *Conc. Arelat.* iii. app.

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[1] Alteserr. *Ascet.* III. v.; Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.

[2] Du Cange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] "Adjuvæ et vicarii."

[5] "Servi monachorum."

[6] Alteserr. *Ascet.* III. v.

[7] *Ib.*

[8] *Ib.*

As soon as the monastic life began to command the reverence of secular potentates, these, in return for their benefactions, not infrequently sought and obtained admission into the fraternity as out-members, in order to have their names inscribed on the roll, and mentioned in the conventual prayers. Thus, Maurus, a disciple of the great Benedict, received Theodebert, King of the Franks, into the monastery afterwards called "St. Maur sur la Loire" (monasterium Glanafoliense), in the close of the sixth century.[5] Similarly, many kings, nobles, and prelates, during the middle ages, for instance, the German Emperor, Frederic II., and the Greek Emperor, Emmanuel Comnenus, claimed the honours of monkhood, without formally subjecting themselves to its discipline. In some instances grandees were admitted as oblates during sickness, or at the point of death.[6]

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[1] Alteserr. *Ascet.* III. v.

[2] "Nequaquam monachi."

[3] "Monachi secundi ordinis."

[4] "Grex devotorum."

[5] Mab. *AA. O. S. B. Vita S. Mauri.* xl. l. li.

[6] Alteserr. *Ascet.* III. vii.

One of the many designations of monks was "conversi." Just as, through a popular feeling of reverence for asceticism, the word "religio" came in the third and fourth centuries to mean not Christianity but the life monastic, so "conversi," though applied also to those who embraced Christianity, or who took upon themselves any special obligations, as of celibacy or of ordination,[1] was ordinarily restricted to monks.[2] But technically the "conversi" were those who became monks as adults, not those who were trained in a monastery from their tender years.[3] About the eleventh century, according to Mabillon, the word came to mean the lay brothers, the "oblati," or "donati," the "frères convers," who from piety or for gain, or probably most often from mixed motives, attached themselves to monasteries as associates (to use a modern phrase),[4] and attended to the business of the monastery outside its walls. The "conversi barbati" are classed with monks.[5]

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[1] Du Cange, *s. v.*

[2] *Reg. Bened.* i. *Reg. Fruct.* xiii. Greg. M. *Dial.* II. xviii. Salv. *Eccl. Cathol.* IV. Isidore *De Conversis*, cf. *Bened. Anian. Conc. Rep.* iii.

[3] *Conc. Aurel.* I. ii.

[4] Mab. *Ann.* iii. 8. Martene *Ad Reg. Bened.* iii. Mab. *AA. SS. O. S. B.* Sæc. III. i. 21.

[5] *Petr. Ven. Statut.* 24.

CHAPTER IX.

NUNS.

THERE were precedents in Paganism for female recluses. The Roman vestals held a very high place in the Roman constitution. Usually admitted very young, between the ages of six and ten, they were bound to fulfil a term of thirty years after admission; ten as novices, ten in the worship of the temple, ten as teachers of those who were to take their places. After the expiration of these thirty years they were free to marry, but availed themselves of this liberty very rarely.[1] Among the Pythagoreans also, women consecrating themselves to virginity might attain a very exalted rank in the hierarchy.[2] Ambrose seeks a precedent in the sacred observances of the Jews,[3] but the passage in the book of Maccabees is a very slight foundation to build upon.[4]

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[1] Preller *Les dieux de l'ancienne Rome.*

[2] Maury *Histoire des Réligions de la Gréce antique.*

[3] *De Virginibus.*

[4] 2 Macc. iii. 19.

In one sense the profession of a nun dates from an earlier period than the corresponding profession of a monk. Before the custom of addicting themselves for religious purposes to an unmarried life had made much progress in the Christian Church among men, it was already in vogue among women. They had no public duties to renounce; it was easier for them to exchange their ordinary employments for those of charity and devotion; perhaps, too, they were predisposed to understand the exhortations to purity, which are so prominent in the Gospel, as exhortations to virginity, and to take such words about marriage as those of St. Paul to the Corinthians in the most literal sense.[1] The sacred virgins, or ecclesiastical virgins, were an important part of the organization of the Church in its first three centuries, and their names were enrolled on the list of Church officials.[2] The Empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, showed a special respect for those devoted women.[3] But these ascetic women were not living together in communities, nor bound by vows.[4] Even so late as the close of the fourth century, a canon of the Council of Carthage speaks of these virgins as dwelling with their parents.[5] If orphans, they were to be placed by the bishop in a building set apart for them. Probably the persecutions of the sacred virgins by Julian,[1] in the reaction which inevitably follows persecution, helped to make their vocation at once more popular and more systematic. Some of the Roman ladies, who were induced by Jerome's influence to devote themselves to it, continued in their homes. Others left their homes to give themselves more completely, as they believed, to a life of devotion.[2] The civil law of the later Empire exempts from the capitation tax[3] these ecclesiastical virgins, and grants them especial protection from insults, making it a capital offence to offer violence to any one of their number, or even to propose marriage to them.[4]

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[1] 1 Cor. vii. 35.

[2] Bingh. *Orig.* Ecc. VII. iv. § 1. Hospin. *De Orig. Monach.* I. x.

[3] Socr. *Hist. Ecc.* I. xvii.

[4] Cyprian *Epp.* lxii.; cf. *De Habit. Virg.*

[5] *Conc. Carth.* III. A.D. 397, xxxiii. Gregor. M. *Dialog.* II. vii. xiv.

Very early in the fifth century Palladius describes several communities of virgins living together in the desert in Egypt, and in Tabenna, an island on the Nile. Some of these communities were apparently not under a very careful discipline. Dorotheus, the superintendent of one of them, used to sit at an upper window, looking down on the inmates, to stop their quarrellings.[5] Chrysostom mentions associations of virgins in Egypt, in those days preëminently fertile in asceticism;[6] Ruffinus speaks of them in Oxyrinchus in

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[1] Sozom. *Hist. Ecc.* V. iii.

[2] *Epp.* (ad Eustoch. et ad Demetriad.). Ambros. *Epp.* (ad Marcell.).

[3] "A plebeiæ capitationis injuria."

[4] *Cod. Theodos.* XIII. x. 1, IX. xxv. *Cod. Justin.* I. v.

[5] Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* xxxiv. xxxvi. xxxviii. cxxxvii.

[6] *Homil.* in S. Matt. viii.

Egypt. Ambrose says that they abounded in Alexandria, in the East, in Italy, and were esteemed very highly;[1] Jerome complains that parents were apt then, as in later years, to get rid of their sickly or ill-favoured daughters in this way.[2]

Augustine mentions nuns in buildings apart from monasteries making woollen garments for the monks.[3] In his protests against the excesses of Donatists, he rebukes severely the indecent behaviour of the virgins, unworthy of the name, who accompanied the roving bands of the Circumcellions.[4] In the last year of the sixth century the Pope Gregory the Great attributes the preservation of Rome from the Lombards to the prayers of the nuns, about 3000 in number, within its walls.[5]

At first, as was the case with monks, and especially in the East, youth was hardly considered a hindrance to self-dedication. Basil draws the line at sixteen or seventeen.[6] Asella and Paula devoted themselves, or were devoted, even earlier.[7] Ambrose advises, that it must not depend on the number of years, but on the maturity of character.[8] The Council of Saragossa, in the close of the fourth century, and the Council of Agde,

[1] *De Virginit.* vii. *De Virginibus* x. *De Lapsu Virg.*

[2] Hieron. *Epp.* (ad Demetriad.).

[3] *De Mor. Ecc.* xxxi.

[4] *Cont. Parmenian.* III. iii. *De Bono Viduitat.* xv.

[5] Gregor. M. *Epp.* VI. xlii. VII. xxvi.

[6] *Reg.* vii. *Ep. ad Amphiloch.* xviii.

[7] Hieron. *Epp.*

[8] *De Virginitate* vii.

a little more than a century later, forbid the veil to be assumed before the age of forty;[1] and the third Council of Carthage, about the same date as that of Saragossa, before twenty-five.[2] Gregory the Great writes, that nuns may not be veiled before sixty years of age, but the profession might be made sooner.[3] Charlemagne, in order to discourage the practice of taking the veil prematurely, re-enacted the old African canon already quoted, fixing twenty-five years of age as the earliest age for it.[4] The Council of Frankfort allows an earlier age in exceptional cases.[5] The Council of Aachen, twenty-two years later, forbids young women to become nuns without the consent of their parents or guardians.[6] As to the length of time necessary for probation, a Council at Orleans in the sixth century draws a distinction between convents where the inmates are to stay for ever, and those where they only sojourn for a time. In the latter case the probation is to last three years; in the former one year is enough.[7]

From the first it was understood on all hands that a woman consecrating herself to the profession of virginity ought not to marry; and in accordance, as it was thought, with apostolic precepts, any one going back from this profession was gravely censured as falling from a higher vocation.[1] But it was not till the Benedictine Rule had been established in Europe that the vow of virginity was regarded as absolutely irrevocable.[2] At first, in some cases, if not in all, the distinction was recognized between lawful wedlock and incontinency. In course of time the same stigma of infamy was branded on a nun marrying, as on one guilty of gross immorality, just as a monk was condemned alike for marriage and fornication. The Council of Elvira in Spain, early in the fourth century, allowed nuns forsaking their profession to be restored to communion, if penitent, after offending once, but not in case of the offence being repeated.[3] Basil ordered a penance of one or two years before restoration to communion; in his eyes, the marriage of one who is already the spouse of Christ is adultery.[4] The Council of Valence in Southern Gaul, about the same date, sentenced nuns marrying to a long, but not perpetual, excommunication.[5] The Theodosian code allowed them to return to the world at any time before attaining forty years of age, especially if they had been compelled to become nuns in the first instance by their parents.[6] Pope

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[1] *Conc. Cæsaraug.* A.D. 380, vii.; *Conc. Agath.* A.D. 506, xix.

[2] *Conc. Carthag.* III. A.D. 397, iv.

[3] *Epp.* IV. ii. Cf. Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* VIII. xlvii.

[4] *Capitul.* A.D. 789, xlvi.; A.D. 805, xiv.

[5] *Conc. Francof.* A.D. 794, xlvi.

[6] *Conc. Aquisgr.* A.D. 816, xxvi.

[7] *Conc. Aurel.* V. xix.

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[1] *Conc. Ancyr.* A.D. 314, xix.

[2] See H. C. Lea's *History of Celibacy* (Philadelphia, 1867).

[3] *Conc. Eliber.* c. A.D. 324, xiii.

[4] *Epp.* xviii. (ad Amphiloch.).

[5] *Conc. Valent.* A.D. 374, xxi.

[6] *Cod. Theodos. Nov.* VIII. et IX.

Innocent I., in the commencement of the fifth century, forbids a nun after marrying or being seduced to be restored to communion, unless the partner in her transgression has retired into the cloister.[1] Epiphanius draws very strongly the distinction, obliterated in later ages, between the marriage of a nun and profligacy; in the former case, after penance done, the ban of excommunication is to be taken off.[2] Leo I., in the middle of the century, only allows nuns who have broken their vow before taking the veil to be received to communion after penance; for those who so offend after taking the veil there is no restoration.[3] Rather earlier in the century, Augustine, with characteristic largeness of thought, admits that marriage in these cases, though very culpable, is not invalidated.[4] Jerome, characteristically, writes more inexorably.[5] The Council of Chalcedon, prescribing a period of penance varying in duration according to the discretion of the bishop, recommends the offending sister to mercy.[6] The second Council of Arles, in the year following, re-enacts the decree, already cited, of the Council of Valence, adding the limitation, if the offender is over twenty-five years of age.[7] The decree of the Council of Orange, a few years before this, is of the same purport.[1] A century later the sentences pronounced are more severe. The fifth Council of Orleans excommunicates both parties in the event of a nun marrying after her fourth year in the convent,[2] and the Council of Macon makes this an excommunication for ever, except by special dispensation from the bishop in mortal sickness.[3] The third Council of Paris pronounces anathema against any one presuming to tempt a nun to marry.[4] Gregory the Great censures in gravest terms the marriage of a nun as a great wickedness.[5] Nuns otherwise breaking their vow of chastity he orders to be transferred to a stricter monastery for penance.[6]

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[1] "de sæculo recesserit," understood by Hospinian as if it were "decesserit." Innocent I. *Epp.* ii. (ad Victric. Rotomagens.).

[2] Epiphan. *Hæres.* LXI.

[3] *Epp.* xc.

[4] *De Bono Viduit.* viii. ix. x.

[5] *Epp.* (ad Demetriad.).

[6] *Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 451, xv.

[7] *Conc. Arelat.* II. A.D. 452, xxxiii.

The consecration of a nun was a solemn rite, only to be administered by a bishop, or at least by his authorization. The Council of Carthage, in the end of the fourth century, forbade priests so to officiate, except by the bishop's order; the Council of Paris, under the successor of Charlemagne, forbade abbesses to usurp this function.[7] Ambrose, in the fourth century, cautions women against assuming the veil precipitately and without due consideration.[1] His sister Marcellina was formally admitted in the great basilica of St. Peter at Rome by Pope Liberius, and part of the ceremony was her receiving from his hands the robe of virginity.[2] He relates elsewhere how young women came to him at Milan from other parts of Italy, and from other countries, to be veiled.[3] Hospinian[4] contends that there was no such ceremony before Constantine the Great, and that Tertullian[5] speaks only of the modesty in dress and deportment, which becomes Christian maidens generally. The favourite seasons for this ceremony were Epiphany, Easter, and the festivals of Apostles.[6] The veil was a sign of belonging to Christ alone.[7] The fillet or riband, with its gleam of purple or gold, represented the crown of victory,[8] and the tresses gathered up and tied together, marked the difference between the bride of Christ and the bride of an earthly bridegroom, with her tresses loosened according to the old Roman custom. The ring and bracelet, symbolic also of the betrothal to Christ, as well as the use of a special office for the occasion, were,

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[1] *Conc. Arausic.* A.D. 441, xxv.

[2] *Conc. Aurel.* V. A.D. 549.

[3] *Conc. Matisc.* A.D. 581, xii.

[4] *Conc. Paris.* A.D. 557, v.

[5] *Epp.* V. xxiv.

[6] *Ib.* IV. ix.

[7] *Conc. Carth.* A.D. 390, iii. *Syn. Hippon.* A.D. 393, xxxiv. *Syn. Carth.* A.D. 419, vi. *Conc. Paris.* A.D. 825, xli. xliii.

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[1] *De Virginitat.* vii.

[2] *Epp.* (ad Marcellin.). Innoc. *Epp.* xiii. (ad Victr.).

[3] *De Virginib.* I. x. Cf. *Conc. Carth.* III. A D. 397.

[4] *De Orig. Monach.* v. s.

[5] *De Virginib. Veland.*

[6] Gelasius *Epp.* ix. (ad Episc. Lucan.) xiii.

[7] Athanas. *Exhortat. ad Spons. Dei.*

[8] Vitta. Optat. *De Schismat. Donat.* VII. iv.

Bingham argues, of a comparatively modern date.[1] The Council of Gangra, while correcting several laxities of the day, condemned the practice of dressing nuns like monks.[2] The same council forbade nuns to have their heads shaven;[3] and so decreed two Gallic councils in the sixth and seventh centuries.[4] Ambrose and Optatus write to the same effect.[5] On the other hand, Jerome and Augustine imply that the custom in their experience was otherwise.[6] In Egypt and Syria the custom of shaving the head seems to have been adopted for cleanliness, nuns having infrequent opportunities of washing the head.[7] The uncertainty of rule, and the diversity of practice on this point arose, perhaps, in part from the Apostolic injunctions to the Christian women at Corinth, 'conflicting with the monastic tonsure, and partly from the twofold aspect of the vocation of a nun, as on the one hand pledged to virginity, and on the other betrothed to the Redeemer. Another objection against the tonsure of nuns in Europe, was the circumstance that this was an ancient punishment for adulteresses among the Teutonic tribes.

The rules of the conventual life for women resemble closely those for men.[1] Scholastica, sister of the great Benedict, was esteemed in Europe the foundress of nunneries, according to the legendary tradition.[2] The nuns were to obey their abbess implicitly.[3] By the Rule of Cæsarius, bishop of Arles in the sixth century, they were never to go out of the convent; were to have nothing of their own; were to be allowed the luxury of a bath only in sickness.[4] The Rule of Aurelian, his successor in the see, orders that they may never receive letters without the cognizance of the abbess, and that if any one brings a maid with her into the convent, the servant by the very act becomes free and in all things her equal.[5] The rigorous Rule called "Cujusdam," not unreasonably ascribed by some to Columba of Iona, prescribed for nuns continual silence, frequent confessions, a very spare diet, very hard labour, under penalty of excommunication.[6] The Rule of Donatus, bishop of Besançon in the middle of the seventh century, makes mention of female officers corresponding to the abbat, friar, hebdomadary or septimanary in a monastery; it allows wives who have left their husbands to be admitted;[7] it forbids the nuns to keep anything under lock and key; it orders small delinquencies to be punished by slapping.[1] Gregory the Great, in his life of Benedict of Nursia, gives a curious legend how two nuns were punished grievously for their silly chattering.[2]

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[1] *Orig. Ecc.* VII. iv.

[2] *Conc. Gangr.* A.D. 325, xiii. xxx.

[3] *Ib.* xvii. Cf. *Cod. Theodos.* XVI. ii. 27.

[4] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* VII. lii. XIII. vii.

[5] Amb. *De Laps. Virg.* viii. Optat. *De Schism. Donat.* VI. iv.

[6] Hieron. *Epp.* (ad Sabinian.) August. *Epp.* ccxi.

[7] Hieron. *v. s.* Cf. Sozom. *Hist. Ecc.* V. x.

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[1] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* I. lii.

[2] Mab. *Prœff.* I. iii.

[3] *e. g.* August. *Epp.* ccxi.

[4] *Reg. Cæsar.* i. iv. xxix.

[5] *Reg. Aurel.* iv. xiii.

[6] *Reg. Cujusd.* vi. ix. x. xii. xviii. xix.

[7] Cf. *Syn. Carth.* i.

Nunneries were generally, as might be anticipated, more amenable than monasteries to the control of their bishops. But the occurrence, from time to time, of a canon on this point, shows that they, too, could sometimes be insubordinate.[3] A council insists that they must account to their bishop for all immunities from episcopal dues.[4] Gregory the Great blames a bishop for not having hindered a nun from leaving her convent.[5] He orders a bishop to install new abbesses; to prevent nunneries being founded without sufficient endowment; to keep lay women out of them.[6] The power of abbesses, as of abbats, was checked by certain limitations both from within and without. By the Rule of Donatus the abbess must take counsel with her nuns.[7] By the decree of an English council in the eighth century, the abbess is to be elected by the nuns, either from their own number, or from elsewhere, with the advice of the bishop.[1] Gregory the Great disapproved of young abbesses and of abbesses from another convent.[2] By a council near Paris in the eighth century, it is ordered that the bishop, as well as the abbess, may send a nun misbehaving herself to a penitentiary; that no abbess is to superintend more than one monastery, or to quit the precincts except once a year when summoned by her sovereign; and that the abbess must do penance in the monastery for her faults, by the bishop's direction.[3] Charlemagne enacted that the bishop must report to the crown any abbess guilty of misconduct, in order that she might be deposed.[4] Abbesses were forbidden, in the reign of his successor, to walk alone, and thus were placed, in some degree, under the surveillance of the sisterhood.[5] Charlemagne prohibited abbesses from laying hands on any one, or pronouncing the blessing.[6] Hospinian alleges that some abbesses claimed to ordain, but this can only be understood in the sense of admitting into minor orders or into the sisterhood.[7] Bingham states that abbesses are first mentioned as taking part in the proceedings of a synod at the Council of Becanfield (Becanceldæ) in Kent (A.D. 694).[8] In the feudal system abbesses were liable, like his other vassals, to the king's service, but by proxy because of their sex and vow of seclusion. They exercised lordship over the fiefs belonging to their convents. In each province the convents were under the supreme authority of the abbess of the central convent of that Order, just as the monasteries were subject to a provincial and to a general of the Order.

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[1] *Reg. Donat.* iv. v. vii. xi. xxxii. xxxvii.

[2] Gregor. M. *Vit. S. Bened.* xxiii.

[3] E. g., *Conc. Arelat.* A.D. 554, v. *Conc. Forjul.* A.D. 791, xlvii. *Conc. Francof.* A.D. 794, xlvii. *Conc. Aquisg.* A.D. 816, lxviii. *Conc. Paris.* A.D. 829, xiii.

[4] *Conc. Vern.* A.D. 755, xx.

[5] Greg. M. *Epp.* IX. cxiv.

[6] *Epp.* III. ix. IV. iv. 12. V. xii. VII. vii.

[7] v. s. ix. li.

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[1] *Conc. Calchuth.* A. D. 787, v.

[2] *Epp.* IV. xi. VI. xii.

[3] "Cum consilio episcopi." *Conc. Vern.* A.D. 755, vi.

[4] *Conc. Francof.* A.D. 794, xlvii.

[5] *Conc. Mogunt.* II. A.D. 847, xvi.

[6] *Capitul. Carol. M.* A.D. 798, xxvi.; *Conc. Francof.* A.D. 794, xlvi.

[7] Hospin. *De Orig. Monach.* v. s.

[8] Bing. *Orig. Ecc.* VII. iii. Cf. Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* XVIII. xxviii.

The routine in a nunnery corresponded very nearly with that of a monastery. There was the same periodical rotation, hour by hour, of sacred services, varied by work, chiefly manual, of one sort or another, with brief intervals at stated times for rest or refection. The usual occupation, in the way of working, was from the first in wool. Jerome, urging nuns to make their vocation real by strenuous diligence, advises them to have the wool ever in their hands.[1] The passage in Augustine's writings, where he speaks of them handing through the door of the convent the dresses which they have made for their aged monks waiting there with food for the nuns in exchange,[2] recalls the ancient epitaph on the Roman housewife in the simple days of the republic, "She stayed at home and made wool." But this primitive employment was apt to degenerate into a preference for fancy-work, which was discouraged as frivolous and vain, except when it was made useful, as in ecclesiastical embroidery for the adornment of the sanctuary.[1] The Rule of Cæsarius enjoins working in wool, but forbids fancy-work.[2] The Rule of Aurelian orders the nuns all to learn reading and writing. In the revival of education under Charlemagne, the nunneries did good service. Hitherto monastic schools had been used chiefly for training monks and clergy only. The great legislator extended the advantages of education to the laity also, instituting for them the outer schools, and leaving the inner schools for the others. The schools in the nunneries were already useful for girls in this larger sphere, the training of the young being naturally congenial to the nuns. Their course of lessons differed of course from the "trivium" and "quadrivium" of the monastic system, being confined to an elementary sort of catechism in religious knowledge, music, housework, and, more rarely, Latin.[3] Nuns were also employed frequently in transcribing and illuminating sacred books, and in the arts of medicine and painting.[4] Boniface, during his missionary labours in Germany, sent to his old home in England for a supply of nuns to assist in civilizing and Christianizing the wild hordes whom he was converting.[5] Hospinian says that he made use of them not for teaching only, but also for the purpose of preaching.[1]

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[1] *Epp.* xxii. (ad Eustoch.).

[2] August. *De Morib. Ecc.* xxxi.

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[1] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* XVI. xxiv.

[2] xiv. xxvi. xlii.

[3] Alteser. *Ascetic.* V. x.

[4] Mab. *AA. SS. O. S. B.* I. 646; *Præff.* II. iii. III. iv.

[5] Othlon. *Vit. S. Bonifac.* xxv. Mab. *Præff.* III. ii. iv.

Great care was necessary from the first to prevent a too close proximity of nunneries and monasteries, as well as any intercourse between the nuns and the other sex generally. Augustine, Jerome, and other Fathers of the Church reiterate their cautions against these dangers. The Council of Ancyra forbade the consecrated virgins to associate with men even as sisters.[2] Justinian forbade women to enter the conventual buildings of men.[3] In the fifth century canons were made strictly prohibiting any more monasteries to be founded for monks and nuns together, and ordering those already in existence to be partitioned between the sexes.[4] The Rule of Cæsarius allows no other man than the bishop, the clergy officiating, and the steward of the convent to enter within its walls. The nuns were to make their confession to the bishop through the abbess.[5] Some nuns were censured in the sixth century for having nursed through his illness a monk of the venerable age of 80.[6] The Council of Seville, a little later, forbids a nunnery to be placed too near the monastery to which it is attached for protection, and enacts that this arrangement must have the sanction of the bishop or council; that no communication is to pass from the one establishment to the other except through the abbat and abbess; and, while allowing the nuns to work with their fingers on dresses for the monks, and the monks to minister spiritually to the nuns, precludes all other intercourse whatever.[1] The letters of Gregory the Great abounded with precautions and directions on this delicate subject. The person acting for the nunnery in its temporal affairs must always be either a monk or a cleric, of high repute and of long experience; he must save them all occasion for going out of the precincts; nuns are never on any pretext to lodge under the roof of a monastery. He denounces severely the custom of nuns being godmothers with monks.[2] The danger indeed was one of constant recurrence, and required unceasing vigilance.[3] The second Council of Nicæa condemned the double or mixed monasteries already mentioned, and, even in cases of consanguinity, forbade a nun to see a monk, except in the presence of an abbess.[4] The Council of Fréjus forbade the abbat of the protecting monastery to visit the nunnery without the bishop's leave.[5] Still, in spite of every precaution, the insidious temptation baffled only too often the edicts of councils and reformers. In the eighth century nuns gained admission into monasteries on the ground of being necessary in sickness and similar emergencies, and secular women on the same excuse were harboured in convents.[1] In the monastery of St. Maurice, in the Valais, women were in the habit of frequenting the chapel of the monastery.[2] In the tenth century the Archbishop of Sens, in Champagne, destroyed the separate cells then becoming common, in which nuns lived apart from the restraints of the convent.[3]

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[1] Mab. *Prœff.* II.

[2] *Conc. Ancyr.* A.D. 314, xviii. Cf. *Conc. Carth.* A.D. 312, iii.

[3] *Novell.* CXXIII.

[4] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* V. xxiii. Cf. *Dict. Chr. Ant.* I. 6.

[5] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* XII. xxxii.

[6] Mab. *ib.*

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[1] *Conc. Hispal.* A.D. 619, xi.

[2] Greg. M. *Epp.* IV. ix. xlii. VIII. xxi. xxii.

[3] *Syn. Carth.* A.D. 348, iii. iv. *Conc. Tolet.* I. A.D. 400, vi. ix.

[4] *Conc. Nic.* II. A.D. 787, xx.

[5] *Conc. Forojul.* A.D. 794, xii.

The canonesses of the eighth and subsequent centuries differed from nuns in retaining more of their secular character. They were not bound by a vow of perpetuity; they repudiated the titles of nuns and mothers; and, though engaged, like nuns, in the work of education, they confined their teaching chiefly to the children of the nobles.

The widows who devoted themselves to the service of the Church from its earliest days belong in many respects to the same category as the sacred virgins. Like them, they were exempted by the code of Theodosius from the ordinary capitation tax; but it was expressly provided that this exemption should only be granted to those widows whose advanced age and sobriety of demeanour gave a guarantee that they would not marry again.[4] The so-called Apostolical Constitutions, after saying that a widow does not receive the imposition of hands,[1] enact that only those may be admitted into the Order who are altogether beyond suspicion of levity or inconstancy.[2] Similar precautions occur repeatedly in later ages, for instance, in the decrees of the Council of Orange in the fifth century, and of the Frank kingdom in the ninth century.[3]

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[1] Mab. *Præff.* III. i.

[2] Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* I. lxxiv.

[3] Ædiculæ, Mab. *Præff.* V. vi.

[4] *Cod. Theodos.* v. s.

Among the various designations used by ancient Christian writers for nuns, the most noticeable are these. "Nonna"[4] is a term of filial reverence, signifying an aged woman, a mother or nurse, just as the older monks were called "nonni" by their younger brethren.[5] The word is perhaps from Egypt, and occurs in the form of *νόνις* in some editions of Palladius. "Sanctimonialis," or "Castimonialis," expresses the holiness of the vocation; the latter syllables of these words become in later writers the substantive word "monialis." "Monastria," a less usual word, signifies seclusion from the world. "Sponsa Christi" is spouse of Christ; "ancilla Dei," handmaid of God; "velata," veiled; "ascetria," ascetic.[6] The titles "agapeta" and "soror" degenerated into terms of reproach, as suggestive of familiarity with monks.[7]

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[1] III. Cf. Gelasius *Epp.* ix. 13.

[2] *Apostol. Constitut.* xxv.

[3] *Conc. Arausic.* A.D. 441, xxvii. *Conc. Tolet.* X. A.D. 656, iv. v. *Capitul.* A.D. 817, xxi.

[4] Hieron. *Epp.* xxii. (ad Eustoch.).

[5] *Reg. Bened.* lxiii. Cf. *Bened. Anian. Concord. Regul.* lxx. Ménard *ad loc.*

[6] Alteser. *Ascet.* III. ii.

[7] Bingh. *Orig. Ecc.* VI. ii. § 13. *Conc. Ancyr.* A.D. 314, xviii.

PART III.

BIOGRAPHICAL OUTLINES.

ANTONY OF THE DESERT.

THIS celebrated anchorite is termed by Athanasius "the founder of asceticism," and his life, "a model for monks."[1] As typical of the monastic ideal, his name stands out prominently. The biography of him by Athanasius professes to be derived in part from the writer's own recollections, in part from the hearsay of others who had known him: it is probably interpolated. There is also frequent mention of him in the ecclesiastical historians.

Antony, as he is usually called in England, was born about 250 A.D., at Coma, on the borders of Upper Egypt.[2] By his parents, who were wealthy Christians, he was trained in pious habits; but, though docile and diligent, he showed no taste for learning nor for boyish games. Six months after the death of his parents he chanced to hear in church the words, "If thou wilt be perfect, sell all thou hast," and resolved at

[1] Præf. *Vita S. Antonii.*

[2] Sozom. *Hist.* I. xiii.

once to obey the precept literally, reserving only a small portion of his property for his sister. Returning into church he heard, "Take no thought for the morrow," and resolved to commend his sister to the care of a devout woman, giving away all his fortune, without any reservation, to the poor.[1]

All that time cells of Christian anchorites[2] were very rare in Egypt; none were far from the abodes of men. Antony retired further and further from his native place, till he fixed his abode first in a tomb, like the demoniacs of Gadara, and afterwards in a ruined castle near the Nile. Here he remained some twenty years, shut up for months at a time with only bread and water,[3] issuing forth only to instruct the multitudes who flocked to see and hear him; at other times all communication was prevented by a huge stone at the entrance. During the persecution of Maximinus (311 A.D.), in which their bishop had fallen, he went to comfort the Christians of Alexandria, and he persisted in appearing in the law-courts, although the presence of anchorites was forbidden as encouraging the martyrs in their disobedience to the edict of the emperor.

When the storm ceased, he withdrew, now an aged man, to a more utter isolation than ever near the Red Sea; and here, to save his disciples the trouble of bringing him food, he cultivated a small field of wheat with his own hands, working also at making mats. From time to time he revisited his former disciples in the Thebaid, always, however, declining to preside over them. About 335 A.D., he revisited Alexandria at the urgent request of Athanasius, to preach against the Arians[1]; there crowds followed him about as "the man of God." But he soon returned to the congenial seclusion of his cell, and died there, at the extraordinary age of 105, in the presence of the two disciples, Amathas and Macarius, who had ministered to his wants for the last fifteen years. They describe him in his last moments as "seeing and welcoming the approach of friends." He had expressed a dread of being embalmed, as was still customary in Egypt, and the place of his sepulture was kept secret by the two eye-witnesses of his death. To them he bequeathed his hair-shirt; the rest of his worldly goods, his two woollen tunics, and the rough cloak on which he slept, he left to Athanasius.[2]

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[1] *Vita* v. s. Sozom. v. s.

[2] *μοναστηρία.*

[3] The bread of the country is said to be good for keeping.

The fame of Antony spread rapidly through Christendom, and the effect of his example in inducing Christians, especially in the East, to embrace the monastic life, is described by his biographers as incalculable. In the next century after his death he began to be venerated as a saint by the Greek Church, and in the ninth of the Christian era by the Latin. He is said to be the author of seven epistles to certain Eastern monasteries,

[1] Theodor. *Hist.* iv. 27.

[2] *Vita* v. s.

which have been translated from the Egyptian into the Greek, and are now extant in Latin.[1] Though by all accounts far from being a learned man, it is hardly consistent with the discourses ascribed to him to suppose that he was altogether illiterate.[2] To a pagan philosopher, wondering at his want of books, he replied, "My book, O philosopher, is nature."[3]

The influence of Antony was great even at the Imperial court; the sons of Constantine the Great wrote to him as to a father.[4] He wrote boldly to Balacius, subprefect of Alexandria, a partisan of the Arians, remonstrating against the persecution of the orthodox; and the sudden death of Balacius on horseback shortly afterwards was considered a judgment for his disregard of this letter. Persons of rank often sought in vain to allure him from his hermitage. "As a fish dies out of water," was his reply, "so a monk out of his cell." The only chance of an interview with him was by claiming his intervention for some one in distress.

His austerities were astounding. His food was bread and water only; as a rule he fasted till sunset, and sometimes for four days together. Of sleep he was equally sparing. His coarse, rough shirt is said to have lasted him a lifetime; and his only ablutions seem to have been involuntary, in wading occasionally through a brook. Yet he lived to an extraordinary age, robust and in full possession of his faculties to the last. In fact nothing short of a constitution of iron could have endured such privations. He was not morose to others; he is described as invariably cheerful in look and manner, with something in his presence which, even in a crowd, attracted the attention of strangers, his low stature notwithstanding; he was, it is said, like a wild man of the woods in his demeanour, but urbane and sociable.[1] Only to heretics he was austere and repellent, refusing to hold any intercourse with them even for a moment. He was careful always, though so universally revered, not to arrogate to himself priestly functions, showing even in extreme old age a marked and studious deference even to the youngest deacons.

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[1] Hieron. *De Scriptor.* 88. Cave *Hist. Liter.* ad voc.

[2] *Vita* v. s. *Sozom.* v. s. Nicephor. *Hist.* vii. 40.

[3] Socrat. *Hist.* IV. xxiii.

[4] Sozom. *Hist.* II. xxxi.

Antony was evidently a man not merely of inflexible resolution, but of some intellectual ability, and the discourses, if indeed they are his, which his disciples record as addressed to themselves and to the heathen philosophers who disputed with him, show that, if he read little, he thought much. He met objections against the mysteriousness of the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Resurrection by the retort, that the pagan mythology, whether in its grossness, as apprehended by the vulgar, or in the mystical systems of philosophers, was plainly against reason. From their dialectical subtleties he appealed to facts, to a Christian's contempt of death and triumphs over temptations; he contrasted the decay of magic and of oracles with the rapid growth of Christianity in spite of persecutions. Similarly his exhortations to his disciples, if we may trust the narrative, were rich in texts from Holy Scripture, and show some insight into philosophy. The excellence of the soul, he taught, consists in its intelligence being in a state of nature; and this, he added, depends on the intention being right. He insisted on practical morality, and particularly on self-examination, enjoining especially charity and humilty, and warning his hearers that austerity alone is worthless without discretion. But as is usual with solitary ascetics, he fostered by his teaching and example a morbid self-consciousness, recommending that a diary should be kept even of secret thoughts; and the basis of his arguments for self-improvement is, that eternal life is worth buying at any price.[1] He taught that prayer, to be perfect, must be ecstatic.[2] Mingled, too, with sound, practical advice are weird stories of his visions, in which he encountered continually evil spirits, clothed not infrequently in forms more ludicrous than terrible. Such things appear childish and preposterous to a less imaginative age, and may reasonably be imputed to a morbid restlessness of the intellect. Still they are an expression of latent truth, as an attempt to realize the insidious force of evil tendencies. In one passage Antony draws a striking and beautiful contrast between the hideous uproar of the demons who assailed him, and the awful stillness of the angel hovering over the host of Sennacherib by night.

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[1] πολιτικὸς οὐδ’ ἄγριος. *Vita* v. s.

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[1] *ἀγοράζεται*, *Vita*, etc.

[2] Cassian. *Collat.* ix. 31.

Beyond these personal conflicts with the evil spirits, and a special faculty of exorcising them, it is not clear how far Antony believed himself able to work miracles. On one occasion he is said to have challenged his opponents to heal some "demoniacs," who were standing by. But to a military prefect, who came praying to be helped, his reply was, "Ask not of me, but of God in Christ, and thy child shall be healed." "Any pure heart," he said, when saluted as a prophet, "can foretell things to come." He warned his followers against paying any attention, if evil spirits offered to predict the rising of the Nile. Miraculous powers were ascribed to him by his admirers, sometimes of a very puerile sort, as when he is said to have detected on board ship a person possessed by an evil spirit through a bad smell. The water found in answer to his prayers by himself and his companions, as they journeyed through the desert, need not be regarded as preternatural, and the voice which guided him in the Thebaid may, as with the philosopher at Athens, mean only the voice of conscience. It would indeed be strange if a life so lonely did not breed many illusions, involuntary and unconscious; still more strange, if those whose eyes were dazzled by the almost more than human self-abnegation of the great eremite, were not led almost irresistibly to exaggerate his stature viewed through a deceptive haze. The marvellous experiences of Antony awoke a longing to renounce the world in Augustine of Hippo.[1]

A life like this is no subject for indiscriminating eulogy, still less for supercilious sneers. There is much to regret in the misdirected zeal, in the talents not made useful as they might have been, in the morbid dread of contact with things material. But the single-minded steadfastness with which Antony lived up to his sense of duty, commands admiration, and the circumstances of his age had much to do in determining the direction of his devout aspirations.

He is commemorated on January 17th. The other writings attributed to him beside the "Septem Epistolæ" are probably spurious.

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[1] *Conf.* VIII. vi. 14.

PACHOMIUS.

Pachomius (St.), a monk of the Thebaid of Lower Egypt, in the fourth century A.D., the founder of the famous monasteries of Tabenna, was one of the first to collect solitary ascetics together under a Rule. Beyond a brief mention of him by Sozomen, who praises his gentleness and suavity,[1] the materials for his biography are of questionable authenticity. His memory is specially revered in the Greek Church.[2] Athanasius, during his visit to Rome, made the name Pachomius familiar to the Church there, through Marcella and others, to whom he held up Pachomius and his Tabennensian monks as a bright example.[3] Rosweyd gives a narrative of his life in Latin, being a translation by Dionysius Exiguus, in the sixth century, of a biography said to be written by a contemporary monk of Tabenna.[4] If we may trust this writer, Pachomius was born of wealthy pagan parents in Lower Egypt before the Council of Nicæa. He served in his youth under Constantine in the campaign against Maxentius, which placed Constantine alone on the undisputed throne. It was, as often in the early days of Christianity, the kindness shown by Christians to himself and to his comrades in distress, which led him to become a Christian. Like many enthusiastic converts of that day, he attached himself to a hermit celebrated for his sanctity and austerities. The narrative tells, how he and Palemon supported themselves by weaving the shaggy tunics,[1] the favourite dress of the Egyptian monks, not unlike the hair shirt of later ascetics. He became a monk, and many prodigies are related of his power over demons, and in resisting the natural craving for sleep and food.[2] His reputation for holiness soon attracted to him many who desired to embrace the monastic life, and without, apparently, collecting them into one monastery, he provided for them the organization necessary to prevent disorder. The bishop of a neighbouring diocese sent for him to regulate the monks there. Pachomius seems also to have done some missionary work in his own neighbourhood. Athanasius, visiting Tabenna, was eagerly welcomed by Pachomius, who, in that zeal for orthodoxy which was a characteristic of monks generally, is said to have flung one of Origen's writings into the water, exclaiming that he would have cast it into the fire, but that it contained the name of God. He lived to a good old age.[3] The Bollandists[4] give the Acta of Pachomius by a nearly contemporary author, in a Latin translation from the original Greek MSS., with notes and commentary by Papenbroch. According to them[1] Pachomius died about the time when Athanasius returned to his see under Constantius, *i. e.* A.D. 349, as computed by Papenbroch, and, as the same author reckons, aged 57.

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[1] *Hist. Eccl.* III. xiv.

[2] *AA. S.S.* Maii XV. *Menolog. Gr.* Maii XIV.

[3] Hieron. *Ep.* cxxvii. *ad Principiam.*

[4] *Vit. Patr.* in *Patrolog. Lat.* LXXIII. 227.

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[1] Cilicia.

[2] *Vit.* xl. xliv. xlv. xlvii. xlviii. etc., ap. Rosw. *Vit. Patr.*

[3] Nicephor. *Hist. Eccl.* IX. xiv.

[4] *Acta S.S.* 14 Maii III. 287.

Miræus[2] makes him flourish in 340, Trithemius in 390, under Valentinian and Theodosius. Sigebert puts his death in 405, at the age of 110. Portus Veneris, now Porto Venere, a small town on the north-west coast of Italy, near Spezia, claims that his body rests there.

What is called the Rule of Pachomius was published at Rome 1575 A.D., and again at Rome 1588 A.D., in a revised form by Petr. Ciacconius as part of his edition of Cassian's works.[3] It is said to have been translated by Jerome from the original Greek or Coptic, 404 A.D. But Cave objects that Pachomius is omitted in Jerome's list of ecclesiastical writers.[4] The same learned and accurate writer regards the Rule given by Palladius of Helenapolis, in his Historia Lausiaca,[5] as an abridgment of a longer Rule, and thinks that the simple Rule of Pachomius was amplified by his successors. The Rule in Palladius agrees with the Rule in the life of Pachomius. Sozomen styles Pachomius the founder and ruler[1] of Tabenna, and speaks of his system,[2] as aiming, like other monastic codes, at virtue and heavenly things.[3] Palladius relates how an angel traced the Rule on a brazen tablet.

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[1] *Acta*, v. s. 177.

[2] *Schol.* Gennad. *Scr. Eccl.* vii.

[3] Rosweyd *Vit. Patr.* Not. ad *Vit. Pachom.*

[4] *Hist. Liter.* I. 208.

[5] xxxviii. ap. Rosweyd *Vit. Patr.*

Three monks were to share one cell, they were all to take their meals together, but were to wear their hoods at meals, like the Trappists, so as not to see one another. They were to wear their white goat-skins[4] day and night. Twelve times at least in the day, twelve times in the evening, and twelve times in the night, they were to pray. Pachomius himself set them an example of working hard, both indoors and out. The probation for a novice was to last three years; the lay monks were to reverence those who had been ordained; all were to be under the control of priors,[5] chosen not by seniority but by merit. The sister of Pachomius is said (like Scholastica) to have copied her brother's example by founding a convent near his monks, and prescribing a Rule for the female devotees there. A monk, with leave from those in authority, might visit a relative there, if accompanied by one of the elder brethren. According to Gennadius,[6] Pachomius wrote also several epistles, mostly lost,[7] and ordered the monks of the monasteries under his supervision to meet yearly at Easter and another great festival.

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[1] ἀρχηγός.

[2] πολιτεία.

[3] *Hist. Eccl.* III. xiv.

[4] Cf. Hebrews xi. 37.

[5] Præpositi.

[6] *De Vir. Illustr.* vii. ap. Fabric. *Biblioth. Ecc.*

[7] Not. ad *Vit. Pachom.*

The "Monita Spiritualia" ascribed to Pachomius by Voss,[1] Cave pronounces spurious, but praises them highly, as terse, and worthy to be written in letters of gold.[2]

In addition to the authorities cited above, Rosweyd[3] gives a "Vita" bearing some resemblance to the life of Pachomius, but conjectures that it is the life of some monk, who should be named Posthumius. Papenbroch reprints it as a "Vita Apocrypha" of Pachomius.

There was another Pachomius, a disciple of the saint of that name.[4]

AMMONIUS.

A DISCIPLE of Pambo, and one of the most celebrated of the monks of Nitria. Being of unusual stature, he and his brothers, Dioscorus, Eusebius, and Euthymius, were called the Tall Brothers.[5] Ammonius himself was distinguished by the epithet "lop-eared,"[6] in consequence of having cut off one of his ears to escape being made a bishop.[7] In his youth he accompanied

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[1] *Opp.* Gregor. Thaumat. Mogunt. 1604.

[2] *Hist. Liter.* v. s.

[3] *Vit. Patr.* v. s.

[4] *Vit. S. Pachomii* xxiv. ap. Rosweyd *Vit. Patr.*

[5] Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* VIII. xii.

[6] *παρωτής*, Nicephor. *Hist. Eccl.* XI. xxxvii.

[7] Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* xii.

Athanasius to Rome, but could not be induced to visit any of the sights there, except the basilica of St. Peter and St. Paul.[1] He was a learned man, and could repeat, it is said, the Old and New Testament by heart, as well as passages from Origen and other fathers.[2] He never tasted cooked food,[3] and frequently gave up his cell to strangers, building himself another without a word.[4] He was banished to Diocæsarea in the persecution under Valens.[5] After being some time high in favour with Theophilus of Alexandria, he and his brothers were accused by him of Origenism. Sozomen and Nicephorus ascribe the accusation to personal animosity on the part of Theophilus; the former, because the brothers had interfered on behalf of Isidorus,[6] the latter, because they had reproved the bishop for being too secular.[7] Socrates explains the accusation as an attempt of Theophilus to divert from himself the odium which he had incurred as an Origenist.[8] Driven from Egypt, the brothers took refuge, first in Palestine,[9] and afterwards at Constantinople, where they were well received by Chrysostom.[10] There they were protected also by the favour of the Empress Eudoxia,[11] and even satisfied Epiphanius of Salamis, who came to Constantinople at the instigation of Theophilus to convict them of heresy.[1]

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[1] Socrat. *Hist. Eccl.* IV. xxiii.
[2] Pallad. v. s.
[3] *Ib.*
[4] Ruffin. xxiii.
[5] Pallad. cxvii.
[6] Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xii.
[7] Niceph. *Hist. Eccl.* XIII. x.
[8] Soc. *Hist. Eccl.* VI. vii.
[9] Niceph. *Hist. Eccl.* XIII. xi.
[10] Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xiii.
[11] *Ib.*

At the Synod "ad Quercum," which was held on the arrival of Theophilus, they were persuaded to submit to him, Ammonius being ill at the time. He died shortly afterwards. Theophilus is said to have wept on hearing of his death, and to have owned that Ammonius was one of the holiest monks of his time.[2]

Perhaps this Ammonius is the author of the "Institutiones Asceticæ," of which twenty-two chapters are extant.[3]

CASSIAN.

JOHANNES CASSIANUS has been called the founder of Western Monachism, and of the Semipelagian School. More exactly, he was the first to transplant the Rules of the Eastern monks into Europe, and the most eminent of the writers who steered their course between Pelagianism and the tenets of Augustine. Like Chrysostom, John Damascene, and others, he is usually designated by his agnomen. His birth is dated between 350 and 360 A.D.; his birthplace is not known. Genadius calls him "Scytha[4]"; but this may be merely a corruption from

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[1] Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xv.

[2] *Ib.* VIII. xvii.

[3] Lambec. *Biblioth. Vindob.* iv. 155.

[4] Ap. Fabric. *Biblioth. Eccles.*

Scetis or Scyathus, where Cassian resided for some time among the monks of Nitria.[1] Possibly "Cassianus" points to Casius, a small town in Syria. Modern commentators are inclined to assign to him a Western origin, but the fact of his writing in Latin is by no means conclusive; for his parents, of whose piety he speaks gratefully,[2] sent him to be educated in a monastery at Bethlehem, and there he would have frequent intercourse with pilgrims from the West. This cannot have been, as some have thought, the monastery of Jerome, for that was not then in existence, nor does Cassian ever refer to Jerome as his teacher. Here Cassian became intimate with Germanus, the future companion of his travels.

The fame of the Egyptian monks and hermits reached Cassian and his friend in their cells. About A.D. 390, they started, with leave of absence for seven years, to study by personal observation the more austere Rules of the "renunciantes," as they were called, in the Thebaid.

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[1] On the other hand Gennadius, from his connection with Marseilles, speaks with authority. Theodoret mentions the conversion of nomad Scyths on the Danube by Chrysostom (*Hist. Eccl.* V. xxx.); and in the beginning of the fifth century there must have been a large Roman element in the population on the Danube. Patriâ Romanus, in Photius, may mean of a mixed descent, or born within the Roman Empire. Cave (*Hist. Literar.* s. v.) makes him by origin a native of the Tauric Chersonese. Honorius Augustodunensis (ii. 60, ap. Fabric. v. s.) calls Cassian "Afer," probably from his residence in Egypt.

[2] *Collat.* XXIV. i.

At the end of seven years they revisited Bethlehem, and thence returned very soon to the Egyptian deserts.[1] Thus Cassian collected the materials for his future writings; he and his friend conversing usually with their hosts by means of an interpreter.[2] Among other voluntary hardships he speaks of the monks having to fetch water on their shoulders a distance of three or four miles.[3] Evidently in his estimation, as in that of his contemporaries generally, the vocation of a solitary is holier than even that of a cœnobite.

About A.D. 403, we find Cassian and Germanus at Constantinople, perhaps attracted by the reputation of Chrysostom. By him Cassian was ordained deacon, or, as some think, appointed archdeacon; and in his treatise "De Incarnatione,"[4] he speaks of Chrysostom with affectionate reverence. Cassian and his friends were intrusted with the care of the cathedral treasures; and after the expulsion of Chrysostom, they were sent by his adherents on an embassy to Rome about 405 A.D., to solicit the intervention of Innocent I. No further mention is made of Germanus; nor is much known of Cassian during the next ten years. Probably he stayed on at Rome, after the death of Chrysostom (A.D. 407), until the approach of the Goths under Alaric. Possibly he met Pelagius there, and thus acquired a personal interest in the Pelagian controversy.

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[1] *Collat.* XVII. xxxi.

[2] *Ib.* XVI. i.

[3] *Ib.* XXIV. x.

[4] VII. xxxi.

After quitting Rome it has been inferred from a casual expression in the "De Institutis,"[1] that Cassian visited the monks of Mesopotamia. Some say that he returned for a time to Egypt or Palestine; and by some he is identified with Cassianus Presbyter, sent by Alexander of Antioch on a mission to Rome. More probably Cassian, on quitting Rome, betook himself, as the Pelagians were devastating the monasteries of Bethlehem, to Marseilles (Massilia), a city famous then, as in the time of Cicero, for the pursuits of literature. In this neighbourhood he founded two monasteries (one of them afterwards known as St. Victor),[2] for men and women respectively. Tillemont says that the Rule was taken from the fourth book of the "De Institutis," and that many monasteries in that part of Gaul owed their existence to this foundation. As Cassian is addressed in the Epistola Castoris as "abbas," "dominus," and "pater," it is argued, but not with certainty, that he presided over his new monastery. Here he devoted himself to literary labours for many years, and died at a very great age; as far as can be ascertained between 440—450 A.D.

The "De Institutis Renuntiantium," in twelve books, was written about A.D. 420, at the request of Castor, bishop of Apt (Apta Julia, in Gallia Narbonensis).[3] Books I—IV treat of the monastic rule; the others of its especial hindrances. The former were abridged by Eucherius Lugdunensis. The "Collationes Patrum in Scithico Eremo Commorantium," in which Cassian records his Egyptian experiences, were evidently intended by him as a sequel and complement of his previous work; his purpose being to describe in the "De Institutis" the regulations and observances of monachism, in the "Collationes" its interior scope and spirit. In the former he writes of monks, in the latter of hermits. The "Collationes" were commenced for Castor, but after his death the first ten books were inscribed to Leontius, a kinsman of Castor, and Helladius, bishop in that district; Books XI—XVII to Honoratus, abbat of Lerins, and Eucherius, bishop of Lyons (Lugdunum); XVIII—XXIV to the monks and anchorites of Hyères (Stœchades). The "Collationes" have been well called a mirror of the life monastic.[1] Benedict ordered them to be read daily; they were highly approved also by the founders of the Dominicans, Carthusians, and Jesuits. But the orthodoxy of the "Collationes," especially of the third and thirteenth, on the subject of Grace and Free Will, was impugned by Augustine and by Prosper of Aquitania. An attempt was made by Cassiodorus and others to expurgate them. Cassian's last work, "De Incarnatione Christi,"[2] was directed against the Nestorian heresy, about 429 A.D., at the suggestion of Leo, then archdeacon and afterwards pope. Probably Cassian was selected for this controversy, as having been a disciple of Chrysostom, the illustrious predecessor of Nestorius in the see of Constantinople.[1] The treatises "De Spirituali Medicinâ Monachi," "Theologica Confessio," and "De Conflictu Virtutum ac Vitiorum," are generally pronounced spurious.

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[1] III. i.

[2] Maitland, *Dark Ages*, 266.

[3] *Institut.* Præf.

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[1] "Speculum monasticum."

[2] i. 3, v. 2.

Cassian is remarkable as a link between Eastern and Western Christendom, and as combining in himself the active and the contemplative life. It is difficult to over-estimate his influence indirectly on the great monastic system of mediæval Europe. His writings have always been in esteem with monastic reformers, especially at the revival of learning in the fifteenth century. Even his adversary Prosper speaks of him deferentially.[2] Cassian shows a thorough knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, with a good deal of quaintness often in his application of it. His style, if not so rich in poetic eloquence as the style of his great opponent, is clear and forcible; he is practical rather than profound. His good sense manifests itself in his preface to the "De Institutis," where he announces his intention to avoid legendary wonders and to regard his subject on the practical side. He insists continually upon the paramount importance of the intention, disclaiming the idea of what is called the "opus operatum"; for instance, on almsgiving,[1] fasting,[2] and prayer,[3] and he is incessant in denouncing the especial sins of cloister-life; as pride, ambition, vain-glory. The life of a monk, as he portrays it, is no formal and mechanical routine, but a daily and hourly act of self-renunciation.[4] On the other hand he is by no means free from that exaggerated reverence for mere asceticism, which in his day led so many to the abandonment of their social duties; and while encouraging the highest aspirations after holiness, he allows too much scope to a selfish desire of reward. As a casuist he is for the most part sensible and judicious, as in discriminating between thoughts voluntary and involuntary.[5] But he presses obedience so far as to make it unreasonable and fanatical,[6] and under certain circumstances he even sanctions deceit.[7]

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[1] *De Incarn.* VII. xxxi.

[2] Insignis ac facundus.

On the subject of Predestination, Cassian, without assenting to Pelagius, protested against what he considered the fatalistic tendency of Augustine. In the "Collationes" he merely professes to quote the words of the Egyptian "fathers"; and in the "De Incarnatione" he distinctly attacks Pelagianism as closely allied with the heresy of Nestorius.[8] Still, it is certain, from the tenor of his writings, that Cassian felt a very strong repugnance to any theory which seemed to him to

[1] *De Institut.* VII. xxi.

[2] *Collat.* I. vii.

[3] *Ib.* IX. iii.

[4] *Ib.* XXIV. ii.

[5] *Ib.* I. xvii.

[6] *De Institut.* IV. xxvii. etc.

[7] *Collat.* XVII.

[8] I. iii. VI. xiv.

involve an arbitrary limitation of the possibility of being saved. It has been well said, that Augustine regards man in his natural state as dead, Pelagius as sound and well, Cassian as sick. Never formally condemned, and never formally canonized, Cassian occupies an ambiguous position. In the Latin Church he is usually styled only "blessed" (beatus), though dignified by the title of Saint in the Greek. The local commemoration of Cassian is on July 23rd.

The estimation in which he is generally held is well summed up by Maldonatus. "Fuit Cassianus auctor Catholicus ac bonus; nullum tamen tam pulcrum est corpus ut nævo careat." The opinion that Cassian wrote in Greek hardly needs refutation. His own words expressly imply the contrary;[1] nor is there any Greek version of his works extant. The first complete edition of his works was in 1559.[2] The most noteworthy editions are these:—Cuychii, Antverpiæ, 1578 (a very elegant edition); Ciaconii, Romæ, 1588; Lugduni, 1606; Romæ, 1611; Alardi Gazæi, Duaci, 1616; and Atrebati, 1628, (revised by Gazæus, but published after his death;) containing valuable annotations. There is an Italian version of Cassian's works (Venice), 1663; a French version, without the thirteenth Collation (Paris), 1667.

[1] *Collat.* Præf. and III. xv.

[2] Migne's *Prolegomena.*

SIMEON OF THE PILLAR.

SIMEON STYLITES is famous as the first hermit who lived and died on the summit of a pillar.[1] He was, like St. Paul, a native of the border-land between Syria and Cilicia; he was born in the latter part of the fourth century, and died about A.D. 460.[2] In his early youth he was a shepherd, and his ascetic devotion, as in the case of Antony and others, was kindled by some words of Holy Scripture heard in church. The blessing in the Sermon on the Mount on "those who mourn," sank deep into his heart; and the impression was deepened by a dream, in which an angel seemed bidding him to dig lower and lower still, before laying the foundation of the building.[3] After two years in a monastery near his home he removed to another near Teleda, a town east of Antioch, and there began to practise the extraordinary austerities which lasted till his death. Frequently he fasted a whole week at a time; he was found on one occasion immersed to his chin in a marsh, singing psalms and hymns; he wore the rope made of twisted palm-leaves, used for drawing water up from the well, round his waist next his skin, till the missing rope was discovered through the drops of blood oozing from the wounds which it made. But these self-enjoined and excessive penances were hardly according to the rule of the monastery, and Simeon withdrew, after ten years there, to the more complete solitude of a hermitage.

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[1] Evagr. *Hist. Ecc.* I. xiii. Theodor. Lect. *Hist. Eccl.* I. xii.

[2] Cave *Hist. Litt.* I. 439.

[3] Theodoret. *Philoth.* cxxvi.

Three years he passed in a roofless hut in the vicinity of Telanessus, a village in the diocese of Antioch, fasting forty days together, and standing all the time. He was still young, and ardent for yet more daring achievements. On the peak of a lonely mountain, in the same diocese, with his right hand fettered to the rock by a ponderous iron chain, and with his half-naked body a prey to insects, he found the utter isolation which he desired. But the recluse was persuaded, apparently by a bishop, Meletius, to quit his solitary fastness and to draw nearer to the haunts of men. Not very far from Antioch he passed the rest of his life on a pillar, thus winning the title which has made him famous in history. He began on a column, perhaps part of the ruins of some portico, the top of which was only about nine feet from the ground. By gradual additions he raised the column to the height of about fifty feet, that he might be more detached from the crowds which flocked to see and hear him, and that he might be nearer his heavenly home. But the novelty of this unprecedented experiment in the ascetic life startled the saints of the deserts, with whom it had been a watchword from the first to shun anything like contact with men. The Egyptian monks excommunicated him at first.[1] They sent one of their number to test the sincerity of the devotee. Standing at the foot of the column, he rebuked Simeon's pride and called on him to decend from his pedestal. The saint without a moment's hesitation began to obey what he regarded as a voice from heaven; and the messenger of the eremites, retracting his words, went back to tell those who sent him, that the saint on the pillar was a saint indeed.[2] One is reminded of the British clergy and of their interview with Augustine under the oak by the river Severn.

The summit of the column on which Simeon stood was apparently a yard in diameter.[3] He stood day and night, without moving, except that he bowed his head continually as an act of adoration. On festivals he kept his arms raised all night, so as to present the outline of a cross.[4] He wore a heavy chain of iron, probably the same chain which he had assumed in youth, round his neck. In this posture he lived and died, under the fierce blaze of a Syrian sun, through the chills of night, in storm and tempest, breaking his fast only once a week, and then on the poorest fare possible, and in Lent never tasting food, praying and singing aloud or preaching to the people round his pillar.

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[1] Theod. Lect. *Hist. Eccl.* II. xli.

[2] Evagrius *Hist. Eccl.* I. xiii.

[3] So Robertson understands the measurement in the older histories. *History of the Church* I. 338.

[4] Theodoret. v. s.

From all parts Christians and unbelievers flocked to see this prodigy—pilgrims from Britain, the farthest isle of the West, ambassadors from Persia, wild Bedouins of the desert. With the rest, his own mother came to see her son in the glory of his saintliness. But in accordance with the pitiless austerity which forbade the recognition of any domestic ties, Simeon refused to look at her or to listen to her, and repelled her from his presence. She died of grief.[1]

Robbers and other criminals, flying from justice, sought and found refuge under the shadow of Simeon's pillar. Men compared him to an angel. His renown was world-wide. Little images of him were used for charms in the city, which had been the capital of the world.[2] From the summit of his pillar he dictated letters to bishops and emperors on the great questions of the day, and his letters were received as from one prompted by the Holy Spirit.[3] He ordered Theodosius II. to restore to the Church the Jewish Synagogues in Antioch, which, after being assigned to the Christians there, had been taken back from them, and the Emperor obeyed.[4] Miracles of healing were ascribed to him freely, and, as happened often in the lives of the solitaries, strange stories were current of his power over the wild beasts. It is no wonder if a man so venerated and sought after formed an exaggerated idea of his own greatness and holiness. It is related in one of the biographies, how on one occasion he imagined that a chariot of fire was come for him as for Elijah, to waft him to heaven. He raised his foot to step into the heaven-sent car. In another moment he recognized the delusion of Satan, and he punished his pride (as Cranmer punished the hand which signed the retractation) by never again putting his foot down. An ulcer (naturally enough) came in the offending thigh.

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[1] *Vit. Sim. Styl.* ap. Rosw. *Vit. Patr.* The biographer seems contemporary. Evagr. *Hist. Ecc.* I. xiii.

[2] Joan. Damasc. *Or. de Imagin.* iii.

[3] Evagr. *Hist. Ecc.* I. xiii. II. x. Nicephor. *Hist. Ecc.* XV. xiii. xix. Cave *Hist. Litt.* I. 439.

[4] Evagr. *Hist. Ecc.* I. xiii.

Notwithstanding his almost incredible privations and sufferings, Simeon lived beyond the usual term of three-score years and ten. Many portents are said to have accompanied his death. He is commemorated by the Greek Church on Sept. 1st, by the Roman on Jan. 5th. Evagrius relates, how he saw in the church of a monastery near Antioch, the identical pillar of Simeon standing in the middle of the nave, with the rustics dancing and leading their cattle round it, apparently that the dumb creatures, like the horses in Rome on St. Antony's day, might be partakers of the saint's blessing.[1]

A life like this exemplifies the monastic idea in its most complete development. For the ruling idea of monasticism was the contradiction of the world in every aspect, the renunciation of the world's appetites, affections, and ambitions. The self-inflicted torments with which Simeon, like an Indian fakeer, chastised himself, were his emphatic protest against the luxuries of the world around him. Whether the spirit of selfishness was really exorcised by his austerities is another question.

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[1] Evagr. *Hist. Ecc.* I. xiv.

"Naturam expellas furcâ tamen usque recurret."

At Kelat Seman, about twenty miles east of Antioch, is a large church in memory of this saint. It is in the form of a Greek cross, being 300 feet from east to west, 330 feet from north to south. In the centre is a spacious octagon, which apparently has never been roofed in, enclosing the rock on which stood Simeon's pillar.[1]

The example set by Simeon, the famous Syrian pillar-saint, found not a few copyists, so late even as the eleventh century, in Syria and Greece, but scarcely elsewhere.[2] Sometimes the saint lived inside the pillar, more usually on the top.[3] The monks of Egypt seem from the first to have been averse to the practice; and it never prevailed in the more practical Western Church. When an ascetic Wulfilaich, near Trèves, in the sixth century, tried the experiment, his bishop demolished the pillar.[4] With these pillar-saints may be compared the "Studitæ" or "Acœmetæ." They must not be confounded with some devotees at Alexandria in the fourth century, who slept on prostrate obelisks, and are described by the Emperor Julian as "filthy and superstitious."[1] The Stylitæ, partly perhaps through their independence of authority, were apt to fall into heresy. Ephraim of Edessa is said to have converted one of them miraculously from heresy.[2] The abnormal state of mind engendered by a life so morbid and unnatural is painted with poetic insight by Tennyson in his poem on the founder of Stylitæ.

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[1] Fergusson *History of Architecture*, Pt. II. Bk. IX. ii. 295.

[2] Nil. *Epp.* II. cxiv. cxv.

[3] Miræus *De Scr. Ecc.* cxciii. ap. Fabric. *Biblioth. Ecc.*

[4] Gregor. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* VIII. xv.

BENEDICT.

Benedictus of Nursia, abbat of Monte Casino, called "Patriarch of the monks of the West," lived during the troubled and tumultuous period after the deposition of Augustulus, when most of the countries of Europe were either overrun by Arians or still heathen. There were many monks in Southern Europe, but without much organization, till Benedict reformed and remodelled the monastic life of Europe.[3] The principal, almost sole, authority for the life of St. Benedict are the Dialogues of Gregory the Great. Their genuineness has been questioned; chiefly on the ground of the Latin being inelegant and the narrative so largely interspersed with miracles. On this theory the Dialogues have been attributed to Pope Gregory II., more than a century later.[1] But there is nothing in style or matter really inconsistent with the reputed authorship. Gregory the Great had planned to write something of the kind "de miraculis patrum in Italiâ:[2] and he is said to have sent the Dialogues to Teudelinda, the Lombard Queen.[3] Cave thinks them interpolated.[4] The writer professes to quote from four of Benedict's disciples, three sub-contemporary, the other his successor at Monte Casino.[5]

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[1] Ap. Fabric. *Biblioth. Græc.* V. xli.

[2] Mosch. *Pratum.* xxxvi. ap. Rosw. *Vit. Patr.*

[3] Mab. *Ann.* I. i.

Benedict was born about A.D. 480, at Norcia (Nursia), anciently belonging to the Sabines,[6] an episcopal city in the duchy of Spoleto in Umbria. His parents were of the higher class.[7] A later writer gives their names, Euproprius and Abundantia.[8] The ruins of the ancestral palace are shown at Norcia, with a crypt, the reputed birthplace of Benedict.[9] He was sent as a boy to be educated at Rome;

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[1] Cave *Hist. Liter.* s. v.

[2] *Ep. ad Maximin. Siracus.* III. lv.

[3] Sigebert Gemblac. xlii. ap Fabric. *Biblioth. Eccles.*

[4] Cf. Mab. *AA. SS. O. S. B. Præf.*

[5] Gregor. M. *Dialog.* II. *Præf.*

[6] "Frigida Nursia," Virg.

[7] "Liberiori genere," *Dialog.* II. *Præf.*

[8] Petr. Diacon. *De Vir. Illust.* i.

[9] Mab. *Ann.* I. iv.

but soon, shocked by the immorality of his companions, fled, followed by his nurse,[1] to Afile (Effide), on the Teverone (Anio), about forty miles from Rome. Thence, he retired to a cave at Subiaco (Sublaqueum), where he lived as a hermit in almost utter isolation for some years, visited only from time to time by a monk of the neighbourhood, Romanus.[2] The cave, the well-known "Sagro Speco," is shown about three miles of very steep ascent above the town of Subiaco, and the traditionary spot marked by a monastery, once famous for its library and for the first printing-press in Italy, where the youthful anchoret rolled naked in the thorn-bushes to overcome sensual temptations.[3] The fame of his sanctity spreading abroad, Benedict was invited, his youth notwithstanding, by the monks of a neighbouring monastery (at Vicovarro) to preside over them, and very reluctantly consented.

Soon, however, their laxity rebelled against his attempts at reformation (he seems to have thus early shown the organizing faculty for which he became afterwards so remarkable), and he abdicated, after a marvellous escape from being poisoned by the monks.[4] He retired to his cave, and undertook the superintendence of youths; among whom were two, who became foremost among his followers, Maurus and Placidus, sons of Roman patricians.[5] Here he founded, it is said, twelve monasteries, each of twelve monks with a "father" at the head of them.[1] Of these only two remain, "Il Sagro Speco," and "Sta Scholastica," the rest being in ruins or merely oratories.[2] The monastery of "Sta Scholastica," so named after Benedict's sister, enjoys especial privileges, and takes precedence among the Benedictine foundations even of Monte Casino, as of older date.[3] Several of the miracles ascribed to Benedict are connected with Subiaco. But, after some time, finding his work continually hindered by the machinations of a dissolute priest, Florentius, he removed with some of his disciples to Monte Casino,[4] destined to become illustrious as the head-quarters of the Benedictine Order, and as a stronghold of learning and of liberal arts even in the darkest ages.

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[1] Cyrilla *Petr. Diac.* v. s.

[2] *Dialog.* II. i.

[3] Mab. *Ann.* I. viii.

[4] *Dialog.* II. iii.

[5] *Ib.* II. iii.

It was probably about A.D. 530 that Benedict transferred himself to Monte Casino.[5] The mountain, with a town and stream at its base, all of the same name, stands on the borders of what were formerly Latium and Campania, nearer to Naples than Rome, a few miles from the birthplace of the great Dominican, Thomas Aquinas. Some ruins of an old Roman amphitheatre mark the site of the town, near the modern San Germano; the little stream flows into the Rapido, a tributary of the Garigliano (Liris). The summit of

[1] *Dialog.* II. iii.

[2] Mab. *Ann.* II. i.

[3] *Dialog.* II. viii.

[4] Alb. Butler *Lives of the Saints.*

[5] Mab. *Ann.* III. v.

the mountain, three miles above the town, and, even at the present time, inaccessible to carriages, was crowned, before the arrival of Benedict, by a temple of Apollo, frequented even then by the rustics,[1] although the existence of a bishop of Casino is indicated by the list of bishops present at the Roman Council (A.D. 484).[2] On this precipitous eminence, looking down on the plains washed by the peaceful Liris, and backed by the wild crags of the Abruzzi, Benedict set himself with new vigour to carry out his plans for a revival of monasticism. The miraculous intervention, of which Gregory hands down the story,[3] is not necessary to explain how the missionary spirit of Benedict and his monks overthrew the image and altar of Apollo, and reared shrines of St. John the Evangelist, and of St. Martin, the founder of monasticism in France, within the very walls of the Sun-God's temple—it was customary to re-consecrate, not to destroy, Pagan edifices[4]—where now stands one of the most sumptuous of Italian churches. Here Benedict commenced the monastery destined to enjoy a world-wide reputation. Here for some twelve years or more Benedict presided over the followers who remained with him, here he is believed to have composed the Benedictine Rule, in the same year, it is said, in which the schools of Athens were suppressed, and his famous code was promulgated by

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[1] *Dialog.* II. viii.

[2] Mab. *Ann.* III. v.

[3] *Dialog.* I. ix. x.

[4] Gregor. M. *Epp.* XI. lxxvi.

Justinian; and from this sequestered spot he sent forth his emissaries not only to Terracina (Anxur),[1] but beyond the borders of Italy, to the neighbouring isle of Sicily.[2] Mabillon considers the narrative in Greek by Gordianus of the mission of Placidus into Sicily spurious, but the mission itself beyond doubt. As an instance of the rapid growth of this monastery, the Benedictine editor notes that there was even then land attached to it; but the passage only speaks of land immediately adjacent.[3] Not many years, however, elapsed before this and other similar foundations were richly endowed with lands and other offerings.[4]

It was in the vicinity of Monte Casino that Benedict confronted and rebuked the ferocious Totila (A.D. 542) at the head of his victorious Ostrogoths,[5] and that he was wont to cheer his solitude by brief interviews at very rare intervals with his beloved sister Scholastica, herself a recluse at no great distance.[6] He is said to have been summoned to a synod at Rome (A.D. 531) by Boniface II.[7] His death is variously computed from 539 to 543 A.D.[8] Some few writers assign a yet later date. His sister (his twin sister according to Trithemius)[1] shortly preceded him. She is called abbess by Bertharius, abbat of Casino in the eighth century,[2] but probably lived alone or as one of a sisterhood.[3]

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[1] *Dialog.* II. xxii.

[2] Mab. *Ann.* III. xxv.

[3] *Dialog.* II. xxxiii.

[4] Gregor. M. *Epp.* III. iii.

[5] *Dialog.* II. xiv. xv.

[6] *Ib.* II. xxxiii.

[7] Cave *Hist. Liter.* s. v.

[8] *Schol. Bened.* in Honor. August. iii. 30. Trithem. ccc. ap. Fabric.; cf. Clinton *Fast. Rom.* Mabill. *AA. S.S. O. S. B.* Præf.

The last visit of the recluse to his sister is told very tenderly in the Dialogues.[4] They spent the day together; at evening she besought him to stay and to commune about heavenly things till morning. But he replied, that he must go back to his cell. Then she prayed to God that he might stay; and suddenly, the clear, bright sky was overcast, and a fearful storm of thunder and lightning made it impossible for him to go forth. When he was inclined to reproach her for thus keeping him from his cell, she answered, "Brother, I besought thee in vain; but God has heard me." So they watched and prayed together through the night.

The character of Benedict may be best estimated from his Regula Monastica, if, as indeed is reasonable to suppose, it was his own composition. In contrast to monastic rules already in existence, chiefly of Eastern origin, it breathes a spirit of mildness and consideration, while by the sanction for the first time given to study, it opened the way for those literary pursuits which afterwards developed themselves so largely within convent walls. Unlike many ardent reformers, Benedict appears to have led a consistent life from the first, without any violent and convulsive disruption of existing ties. He is more like the "judicious" Richard Hooker or the George Herbert of the English Church, than the Francesco di Assisi, or the Dominico of his own communion. The traditionary account, too, of the great Reformer's tender affection for his sister, as well as of his withdrawal before the opposition which he had to encounter at Subiaco, seem to give verisimilitude to the traditionary portraits of him, as of gentle though dignified aspect. At the same time, his demeanour before Totila, the strict rule under which he kept others as well as himself, and his severity in repressing the slightest disobedience testify to his practical insight into character,[1] as well as to his zeal and courage. He is said (like Antony) to have reproved a hermit who had chained himself to a rock, in these words, "Brother, be bound only by the chain of Christ."

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[1] But see Mabill. *Annal.* III. xiv.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] *Ib. Dial.* II. xxxiv. *AA. S.S.* Feb. 10. The words "ad propriam cellam recessisset," are ambiguous. Mab. *Ann.* III. xiv.

[4] *Dial.* II. xxxiii.

The character of the Benedictine Order, by the specialities which have always distinguished it from other religious orders, attests the sagacious and liberal character of its founder.

"Through mist of years behold him yet!
The garb severe, the aspect meek,
Serene yet firmly set,
And lips that seem to speák

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[1] *Dialog.* II. xxiv. xxviii. etc.

With power to draw heaven's lightning down,
  And stay or raise the tempest's rain.
So kings doff robe and crown,
  Won o'er to swell his train."—W. H. SCOTT.

It is doubtful whether Benedict was ordained. Fleury thinks not, although he preached.[1] The idea of his being a priest is modern.[2]

The miracles with which the life of Benedict is studded, are such as are very common in the mediæval biographies of famous ascetics. In many cases the alleged fact plainly requires no such explanation, for instance, the broken cord by which the saint's basket was drawn up, and the exceedingly heavy stone which resisted the efforts of his disciples to move it, may obviously be accounted for without any supernatural intervention. Similarly the apparition frequently occurring of the devil in bodily form, may be but an embodiment to the senses of the assaults of temptation. Sometimes the supposed miracle seems to be only a metaphorical expression, as the snake in the stolen flask, or the dragon which encountered the recreant monk; sometimes it seems only to represent Benedict's keenness of insight into character, and extraordinary power of influencing those with whom he came in contact, as in his interviews with Totila and with an Arian Goth, in his detection of acts of disobedience, though done out of his sight, and in his prediction about a demoniac who wished to be ordained. The money unexpectedly provided for the poor debtor, and the flour in the famine, were not of necessity miraculous; while the highly-wrought imagination of the recluse may suffice to account for his vision of his sister's soul ascending to heaven, and of his own speedy dissolution. Some of Benedict's miracles seem taken almost literally from the narratives of the prophets Elijah and Elisha in the Old Testament, for instance, the floating iron, the cruise of oil, and the raven. It is important also to observe the legendary character of the evidence for these wonders.

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[1] *Hist. Eccles.* XXXII. 15.

[2] Mab. *Ann.* V. xvii. Murator. *Script. Ital.* IV. 27.

Marcus Poeta, a Benedictine monk in the beginning of the seventh century, adds to those recorded in the Dialogues a story of angels guiding Benedict to Monte Casino,[1] and the story is repeated as authentic by Paulus Diaconus.[2] In this manner the love and reverence of admiring disciples were continually embellishing the fame of their founder with new prodigies. Mabillon thinks that the story of a girl sent by Benedict to be healed by Remigius, bishop of Rheims, arose from a misunderstanding of the word "benedictus," as if it were a proper name.[3]

Some, probably not all, of the remains of Benedict were transferred from his shrine at Monte Casino to the Benedictine abbey at Fleury (Floriacum) on the Loire, in the seventh century, or at a later date.[1]

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[1] *De Vir. Illustr.* ap. Fabric. *Biblioth. Eccles.*

[2] Mab. *Ann.* III. v.

[3] *Ib.* III. xvi.

Besides the famous Rule, the following shorter and less important writings are generally attributed to Benedict: *Sermo in Decessu S. Mauri et sociorum*, and *Epistola ad S. Maurum.*

The *Epistola ad S. Remigium*, the *Sermo in Passione S. Placidi et Sociorum*, and the *De Ordine Monastico* are probably spurious.[2] Some sentences are ascribed to him in the *Sententiæ Patrum*, Col. 1531.[3]

COLUMBA.

COLUMBA (or Columcille) was born about A.D. 520 in the north-west of Ireland. He was of royal descent, and was at an early age ordained priest, and is said to have founded several monasteries in Ireland. But being naturally of an ardent and pugnacious temper, he became embroiled in the feuds then so prevalent; and, probably in remorse for the blood shed in these conflicts, he left Ireland in his forty-second year, and crossed in a little boat to the island off the coast of Scotland, renowned subsequently as Iona. The little community, over which he presided here, grew to be a centre whence, under Columba and his companions, the civilizing influence of Christianity radiated far and wide among the Picts and Scots; and whence, at a later date, the light penetrated the northern regions of England. It is uncertain whether Columba framed a Rule.

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[1] Mab. *AA. SS.* ii. 339. The question is discussed at length in Bolland *AA. SS. Bibl. Patr.* s. v., Gueranger *Mar.* 21. III. 297—301, and in Mab. *AA. SS. O. S. B.* ii. 337—352.

[2] Migne *Enchirid. Benedict.*

[3] Cave *Hist. Liter.* s. v.

[The following account of his death, strangely contrasting with the turbulence of his early years, is taken from a life of him by the Rev. C. Hole and the Rev. James Gammack (of which this sketch is an abridgment), in the Dictionary of Christian Biography.

"In A.D. 593 he seems to have been visited by sickness, "and the angels sent for his soul were stayed but for a time. "As the time approached, and the infirmities of age were "weighing upon him, he made all preparations for his de-"parture, blessing his monastery, visiting the old scenes, and "taking his farewell of even the brute beasts about the "monastery. On the Saturday afternoon he was transcribing "the thirty-fourth Psalm (Psalm XXXIII., E.V.), and "coming to the verse, 'They who seek the Lord shall want "no manner of thing that is good,' he said, 'Here I must "stop at the end of this page; what follows let Baithen "write.' He then left his cell to attend vespers; and re-"turning at the close, lay down on his couch of stone, and "gave his last injunctions to Baithen, till the bell at midnight "called them to the nocturnal office. St. Columba was the "first to enter the oratory, and when the brethren followed "with lights they found the saint prostrate before the altar, "and he soon passed away, with a sweet smile upon his face, "as though he had merely fallen into a gentle sleep. This, "according to Dr. Reeves' computation, was early in the "morning of Sunday, June 9th, A.D. 597."]

COLUMBAN.

Columban was born A.D. 543, the very year in which the great founder of the Benedictines died, in the part of Ireland now called Leinster, and was educated in the monastery of Bangor, in the north of that island, under the illustrious Comgall. It speaks well for the intellectual culture of Ireland at that period, that Columban acquired there some knowledge of classical as well as ecclesiastical literature. Fired with missionary ardour he left his native land, when about forty years old, and passing through France, settled in Burgundy, first at Annegray (Anagrates), in the Haute Saône, and afterwards at Luxeuil (Luxovium), in one of the almost inaccessible defiles of the Vosges mountains, where he founded the monastery afterwards famous far and wide under the name of Luxeuil. But Columban's efforts were thwarted by the laxity of the Frankish clergy, still more by the demoralizing influence of the notorious Brunehild and her licentious Court. His Keltic peculiarities in regard to Easter and the tonsure provoked the antagonism of the Frankish clergy. After twenty years' hard work in Burgundy, he was banished, and after a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Martin, the pioneer of Christianity in Gaul at Tours (Cæsarodunum), he betook himself first to Neustria, and thence to the Austrasian Court. From Metz (Medionatrica) he journeyed up the Rhine to Zurich (Duregum), and having exasperated the populace by breaking their idols, he fled to Constanz (Constantia), and thence with St. Gall (Gallus), one of his comrades, to Bregenz (Bregentium), where he remained till it was conquered by Theodoric of Burgundy. He crossed the Alps to Milan (Mediolanum), where he engaged in the controversy against the Arians, and, under the patronage of the Lombard king and Theodelinda, founded near Trebbia (Trebia), about midway between Milan and Genoa, the monastery of Bobbio (Bobium), which became the metropolis of monachism in Northern Italy, as Luxeuil was in Burgundy. When the Frankish kingdoms were united under Clotaire II., Columban was invited to return thither, but he declined: he died at Bobbio in A.D. 615. The vehement and ambitious temperament of Columban[1] was with him an incentive to missionary enterprise, in which he preceded Boniface, who carried the Gospel to the trackless forests of Germany. Columban was at work there before the followers of Columba, or Augustine and his companions had Christianized England. With all his impulsiveness and ardour, Columban was statesmanlike, and his various writings, in prose and verse, show learning and devoutness. His Rule was very popular at first on the Continent, but within half a century of his death it waned before its Benedictine rival,[1] probably because it dealt less tenderly with human frailties, and inculcated a sterner and more absolute submissiveness;[2] and partly because the Papal Court favoured the Italian more than the Keltic Rule.

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[1] "Perfervidum Scotorum ingenium."

Columban has left not a few writings in prose and verse, characterized frequently by learning and sagacity, as well as by intense devotion.

[Abridged from a life of Columbanus by Rev. James Gammack and Rev. Charles Hole in the Dictionary of Christian Biography.]

BONIFACE OF MAINTZ.

Boniface of Maintz, called "the Apostle of Germany," was the greatest, though not the first in time, of the missionaries who Christianized Germany. He was born of noble parents in Wessex, at Crediton (Crediodunum), in the last quarter of the seventh century, and was educated as a child within the walls of a monastery, apparently in or near the neighbouring city of Exeter (Adestancastrum).[3] His name then was Winfried. He soon evinced a longing for the life of a monk; his father reluctantly consenting, he was received into the monastery of Nutsall (Nhutscellense, Nutshalling, Nursling, Nutsey), near Winchester; he was ordained priest at the age of thirty, and, being eminent among the brethren for his learning and ability, had the prospect of future greatness before him, learned men being scarce at the time in England. On the recommendation of the assembled abbats of Wessex, he was deputed by Ina, king of Wessex, to attend a council convoked by Bretwald (Brictwaldus), archbishop of Canterbury.[1]

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[1] The synod of Whitby, soon after the middle of the seventh century, decided finally the struggle in England between the Keltic and the Latin usages.

[2] Columban prescribed whipping and exceptionally severe fasting, for even trivial faults.

[3] Willibaldi *Vit. Bonifac.* i. Bonifac. *Epp.* x.

But Winfried longed to exchange the peace and security of the cloister for the toils and perils of a missionary. The conversion of his own country was accomplished; even Wessex, "the most pagan of the Saxon kingdoms,"[2] had embraced the Christian faith; his longing naturally turned to the old country, the fatherland of the English. Willibrod, like himself an English monk, had recently preached the Gospel to the Frisii, and two other English monks, the brothers Ewald, among the Saxons in North Germany, south of the Elbe.

Early in the eighth century[3] Winfried embarked with only two or three of his brother monks with him, crossed from London to Dorstat, near Utrecht, and commenced operations. But his attempt was singularly inopportune. Ratbod, king of the Frisii, at war with Charles Martel, was devastating the churches and monasteries in Friesland which had been founded by the Franks, was restoring the worship of idols, and was in no mood to receive overtures of Christianity. After an unsuccessful interview with Ratbod, Boniface returned home, nothing done.[1]

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[1] *Vit.* ii. iii. iv. *Epp.* iii.

[2] Milman *Hist. Lat. Chr.* II. 242.

[3] A.D. 704, Cave and others; not before 716, Mabillon on Willib. *Vit. Bonifac.* iv.

After a short stay, whether of one winter or more is uncertain, in his old quarters at Nutsall, and after declining, according to his biographer Willibald, the honour of succeeding Winbert[2] as abbat, Winfried renewed his attempt, with the same intrepidity as before, but with more preparation.[3] It was his farewell for ever to the shores of England. Fortified with a commendatory letter from his friend and patron Daniel,[4] bishop of Winchester, he made his way, no easy journey in those days, to the city which was then emphatically the centre of the organization of Christendom. At Rome he was welcomed cordially by the Pope, Gregory II.[5] There, too, he formed a friendship for life with Eadburga,[6] an English princess, who, like many others of royal blood, had retired to the cloister.[7] Then and there, according to some writers, but more probably on being made bishop during his next visit to Rome, he assumed the name Bonifacius.[1]

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[1] *Vit.* iv.

[2] But it is argued that Winbert died later. Wright *Biog. Brit. Liter.* p. 310.

[3] *Vit.* vi.

[4] *Epp.* xxx.

[5] *Vit.* vi. *Epp.* x.

[6] *Epp.* xiv.

[7] Montalembert *Les Moines de l'Occident*, v. 5.

The winter past and the snow melting, he recrossed the Alps, after a friendly reception at the Court of the Lombards, bearing a general authorization from the Pope to evangelize Central Europe.[2] He found the duchy of Bavaria (extending from the Alps to the old Roman frontier) in a state of great disorganization. It had received Christianity as a Roman province, and more recently Rupert, Corbinian, and others had laboured there; but the clergy as well as the people were demoralized. Winfried appears to have made only a brief stay among them, passing on into Saxony, which had been in part Christianized by the disciples of Columban; but some of the tribes had relapsed into heathenism, and the Christianity of the others was not in conformity with the Christianity of the Roman See. His missionary efforts, however, in this district were interrupted by tidings of the death of Ratbod.[3] Perhaps Winfried was disappointed of the success which he had anticipated in Thuringia, or overpowered by a longing to revisit the scene of his earliest enterprise; perhaps he felt that he had yet much to learn under one older and more experienced than himself; anyhow, he turned his steps at once to

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[1] Mab. *Ad Vit.* vii.

[2] *Vit.* vi. *Epp.* cxix—cxxiv.

[3] A.D. 719.

Friesland, and there assisted Willibrod, archbishop of Utrecht (Trajectum), for three years. At the end of that time, declining to become coadjutor first, and afterwards successor of Willibrod, he returned to Thuringia in the wake of Charles Martel's victorious troops, and then prosecuted his mission northwards in the territory of the Hessi, a heathen tribe between the middle Rhine and the Elbe. Here he made many converts.[1]

So far in Winfried's career it has been only the skirmishing before the battle, or the athlete's training for the race. From this date his work becomes more systematic, and the link closer, which binds him to Rome.

In A.D. 723 he made his second visit to Rome, to receive Pope Gregory's directions on various complications arising from the unsettled relations of Christianity and heathenism in Germany. On St. Andrew's day in that year he was consecrated bishop, without a see,[2] and probably on that occasion assumed the name by which he is known in history.

Boniface had learned by experience how essential was the support which Rome alone could give to the success of his labours, and bound himself, apparently without any reluctance, by a stringent oath of fealty to the Pope, similar to that which was imposed on the Italian bishops.[1] As early as was possible in the spring he started again from Rome northwards, armed with the Pope's commendatory letters to Charles Martel and others, clergy and lay people, with whom he was likely to be brought into contact.[2]

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[1] *Vit.* vi. vii.

[2] "Regionarius."

Evidently the conversion of the Saxons, to whom Boniface felt himself drawn by the ties of blood and race, had been from the first very near his heart.[3] But experience had taught him to work his way gradually to his end. Before returning to his mission among the Hessi, he attached himself for a time to the Court of Charles Martel, and gained the sanction of that prince, then vigorously pushing forward his schemes of conquest in that direction. The position of the Hessi was important ecclesiastically as well as politically, on the frontier between Christendom and paganism, between the Frank kingdom and the Saxons. It was necessary to strike a telling blow; and Boniface had both the courage and the tact for the emergency. With his own hands, in the presence of an assembled crowd, he felled to the ground the sacred and inviolable oak of Thor at Geismar (Gaesmara), and, subsequently, his monks assisting, built an oratory with the planks.[4]

Conversions followed rapidly; and he appears, notwithstanding much opposition from the clergy as well as the laity, to have been successful now in controlling the disorder in Thuringia. In the midst of his labours he kept up a constant correspondence with old friends in England, who sent him from time to time a plentiful supply of monks and nuns, willing recruits for his missionary campaign, as well as books and other things which he needed. Here and there, as occasion offered, he planted his monastic colonists, to hold the territory which had been reclaimed from heathenism. It was about this time, or rather later, that he founded monasteries, inconsiderable of course, at first, in size, but invaluable as mission stations, at Ordrop (Ordorf), near Erfurt, Fritzlar (Fridislar), near the scene of his exploit with the oak, and at a place called "Hamanaburg," in all probability Homburg in Hesse.[1]

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[1] "Suburbicarii," Othlo. *Vit. Bonif.* xiv.

[2] Willib. *Vit.* vii.

[3] *Epp.* xxxvi.

[4] *Vit.* viii.

The death of Gregory II., and the accession of Gregory III. to the papal throne (A.D. 731), brought only fresh labours to Boniface. The new Pope lost no time in raising the devoted emissary of Rome to the dignity of archbishop (as before without a see) and legate, thus enabling him to coerce the refractory bishops who thwarted his efforts. Charles Martel's decisive victory at Tours (A.D. 732), which rolled back the Saracenic tide that threatened to submerge Christendom, gave a new impetus to Christian missions. In 738 Boniface made his third and last pilgrimage to Rome, not now as an obscure priest, but with a great retinue of monks and converts, and received the Pope's authority to call a synod of bishops in Bavaria and Würtemberg (Alemannia); circumstances, however, appear to have deferred this synod for some years. Returning through Bavaria, Boniface, acting in concert with Duke Odilo, founded four bishoprics in the eastern part of the duchy, Salzburg (Sala Franconica), Freisingen (Frisingum), Passau (Patavium), and Ratisbon or Regensburg (Reginæ civitas), with a view to remedy the ecclesiastical lawlessness which still prevailed.[1]

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[1] *Vit.* viii.

After a quarter-century of almost incessant missionary activity, the influence of Boniface was now at its zenith. The accession of a new pope, Zacharias (A.D. 741), made no change in the consideration with which he was regarded at Rome. On the contrary, his letters to Zacharias show that after being the trusted friend and counsellor of the two previous popes, Boniface could address their successor, if he thought it necessary, in a tone, if not of reproof, at least of earnest expostulation.[2] The death of Charles Martel also in the same year was rather a gain than a loss to Boniface, for the comparatively pacific policy of the sons was a more congenial atmosphere for his missionary plans than the restless pugnacity of their father, which often compromised the preaching of the Gospel even by co-operation. Carloman, as the close of his career showed, was predisposed to submit to the direction of a monk, and Pepin welcomed so potent an ally as Boniface in his efforts to reduce the Gallic clergy to obedience, and to correct the licentiousness which prevailed under the degenerate Merovingians, by eliminating the Keltic element from among the clergy, and by consolidating the fabric of church and state, with Rome as the key-stone of the arch. The influence of Boniface as legate extended southwards and westwards in Austrasia and Neustria. In the previous pontificate, probably A.D. 739, Boniface had held a council, vaguely designated "on the bank of the Danube,"[1] at which he created the four Bavarian bishoprics.[2] In 742 he presided at what is called still more vaguely a "Germanic council," perhaps as being the earliest provincial council in Germany.[3] The decrees then enacted were confirmed by a council held A.D. 743, in a palace or villa of Carloman[4] at Estines in the diocese of Cambrai, on the southern frontier of Austrasia.[5] At this synod Gewilieb (Gervilius) was deposed, with Carloman's consent, from the see of Maintz (Moguntum), for the indulgence of his sporting propensities, and for the graver offence of homicide in battle. Boniface was installed in his stead, the bishopric being elevated into an archbishopric, with jurisdiction over a district from Köln to Strasburg, and from Coir to Worms.[1] Apparently, Boniface would have preferred Köln (Colon. Agripp.) for the seat of his archbishopric. But the repugnance of the clergy of Köln, who dreaded his strictness in enforcing discipline, coinciding with the opportune vacancy of Maintz, determined it otherwise.[2] Two other synods, of which the traces are lost, seem to have taken place about this time.[3] In 744 a more important council was held at Soissons (Suessiones) on the confines of Neustria and Austrasia, apparently by the joint authorization of Pepin and Carloman,[4] under the mock sovereignty of Childeric, at which, among other things, Adalbert (or Elbereht) and Clemens, two of Boniface's most energetic opponents, Adalbert, apparently, a fanatic with a strong following among the lower classes, Clemens, an adherent of the old British Church, were formally condemned.[5] Their condemnation was subsequently ratified by a synod at Rome.[6] Meantime Boniface was not neglectful of his missionary work in Central Germany. In 742[7] he founded the sees of Würtzburg (in Franconia), Buraburg (in Hesse), Erfurt (in Thuringia), and a few years later the see of Eichstädt ("Ala Narisca," etc.), where he placed his nephew and faithful companion Willibald, who is not to be identified with his biographer.[1]

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[1] Willib. *Vit.* ix.; cf. Miræus ap. Fabric. *Biblioth. Eccles.* s. v.

[2] *Epp.* cxliii.

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[1] "Ad Danubium." Perhaps at Ratisbon. Miræus s. v. ap. Fabric. *Bibli. Eccles.*; cf. *Epp.* cxxii.

[2] Willib. *Vit.* ix. *Epp.* iv.

[3] Mab. ad Willib. *Vit.* ix.

[4] Miræus v. s.; cf. *Conc. Leptin.* or *Liftin.*

[5] *Epp.* cxxiv.

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[1] Othlo. *Vit.* xxxiii. xxxvi. xxxviii. Willib. *Vit.* ix.

[2] *Epp.* cxxxviii. cxl.

[3] Willib. *Vit.* x.

[4] *Ib.* ix.

[5] *Ib.* ix. x.

[6] *Epp.* cxxxiv. cxxxv. cxlviii.

[7] A.D. 746, *Annal. Fuldens.*

In 744, Boniface founded the great monastery with which his name is especially connected, of Fulda, in the wild forest of Buchenau (Buchonia), between Hesse and Bavaria, destined to become among the Benedictine monasteries of Germany what Monte Casino was already in Italy.[2] Finding it impossible himself to exercise a constant superintendence over it, he appointed Sturm (or Sturmio), a Bavarian, who had long worked under him in Thuringia, to be abbat; but from time to time he resorted thither for rest and retirement.[3]

In 751, the shadowy sovereignty of the Merovingians faded utterly away. That Boniface was present at Soissons, and consecrated Pepin to be king in name, as he and his fathers had long been in deed, is affirmed by Bulteau and Matter, following the mediæval annalists.[4] It may be argued, that one whose influence had made itself felt so constantly on the policy of Christendom, would hardly be content to stand by, a passive spectator of the extinction of the old dynasty. But possibly Boniface estimated the importance of what was being done at its true value, thinking, with

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[1] Willib. *Vit.* x. Bulteau *Hist. de l'Ordre de S. Bénoît.* IV. xii.

[2] *Annal. Fuldens.* Cf. Trithem. ap. Fabric. *Bibl. Eccles.* s. v.

[3] *Gloria Fuldæ*, pp. 3, 8, 66, 67.

[4] Bulteau *Hist. de l'Ordre de S. Bénoît.* iv. xii. Matter *Hist. de l'Eglise* ii. p. 33. Trithem. ap. Fabric. *Bibl. Eccles.* s. v. Marian. Scot. *Chronicon* A.D. 750. *Annal. Fuldens.* A.D. 752.

Pope Zacharias, that he who was already king for all practical purposes, might as well wear the crown.[1] In the following year Carloman abdicated his throne and retired to Monte Casino, leaving his brother sole king. It has been supposed that Boniface prompted this step; on the other hand it is to be noted, that after Carloman's abdication Boniface began to withdraw from public life, requesting the Pope to depute some one else as papal commissary at the synods.

Boniface's indefatigable labours were drawing to their close. The increasing infirmities of age[2] admonished him to hand over to younger men the completion of the work so well inaugurated by himself. In A.D. 753, or in the following year, he named Lull or Lullus, with consent of Pepin, his successor in the see of Maintz, intimating his presentiment that the end was near.[3] But the veteran missionary was as unwilling as any of his warrior forefathers to die peacefully and ingloriously. He would die as he had lived, in harness. After hastily revisiting the scene of his labours in Thuringia, he started on his last journey, to make one more effort for the conversion of the heathen, among whom he had first tried his powers as a preacher of the Gospel. Infirm and decrepit in body,[4] but dauntless as ever in spirit, he embarked on the Rhine with Cöeban (or Doban), a coadjutor bishop, and a handful of devoted followers, clergy, acolytes, and others, threading his way through the villages[1] scattered here and there among the marshes of Frisia.

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[1] Marian. Scot. v. s.

[2] Willib. *Vit.* xii.

[3] Willib. *Vit.* x. A.D. 753. Riddle *Eccles. Chronol.* A.D. 754. Cave *Hist. Liter.* A.D. 755. Mar. Scot. *Chron.* (He makes Lull succeed after the death of Boniface.) *Ann. Fuld.* A.D. 781.

[4] Willib. *Vit.* xii.

On a summer's day[2] the messengers of peace, a little company of some fifty in all, planted their tents on the banks of a river near Dockum (Doccomium), there awaiting the arrival on the morrow of a large number of converts to be confirmed by the missionary bishop. But the early morning witnessed a strangely different sight. Boniface and his companions found themselves beset by a concourse of armed pagans, eager to stop the progress of these destroyers of their idols, and to seize the vessels of gold and silver supposed to be in their keeping. Some attempt at self-defence was made by the younger Christians, but in vain. Boniface, with characteristic fortitude, checked this ineffectual resistance, and met the fate which doubtless he had long anticipated, if not longed for, with the calmness of one of the early Christians in a Roman amphitheatre. Scarcely any of his followers escaped. His assailants fought among themselves over the scanty booty which disappointed their expectations; and Pepin availed himself of the excuse for invading Frisia by way of avenging the massacre of the bishop and his companions. The bones of the martyr, after the usual contention between Utrecht, Maintz, and Fulda, were finally deposited in the monastery of Fulda, according to the wish expressed by Boniface before setting off on his last journey.[1]

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[1] Willib. *Vit.* xi. "pagi divisi."

[2] June 4th, according to the *Annal. Fulden.* June 5th, according to Bulteau *Hist. de l'Ordre de S. Bénoît,* IV. xii.

It is impossible that Boniface ever occupied the see of Utrecht. Willibald is silent about it. A canon of Utrecht, writing in the fourteenth century, claims this honour for his cathedral, alleging that Boniface succeeded Willibrod or Clemens (A.D. 744). But the same writer represents Boniface as the founder at Utrecht of a church of canons, an apparent anachronism, which discredits his testimony, even apart from this not intrinsically trustworthy.[2] Bulteau thinks that Boniface was made Archbishop of Utrecht after resigning Maintz.[3] It is more likely that Boniface superintended the see of Utrecht as papal legate for a short time, when it became vacant in A.D. 753, appointing as his coadjutor or subordinate,[4] Cöeban or Doban, one of his missionary fellow-labourers; an arrangement all the more likely, if Utrecht was still a see beyond the pale.[5] The long-standing rivalry between Utrecht and Cologne probably helped to foster the idea that Boniface was formally appointed Archbishop of Utrecht.

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[1] Willib. *Vit.* xi. *Ann. Fuld.* A.D. 781.

[2] Joan. de Beka *Hist. Vit. Episc. Ultraject.* pp. 8, 9, 10.

[3] Bulteau *Hist. de l'Ordre*, etc. IV. xii.

[4] Willib. *Vit.* xii. "Co-episcopus," al. "chorepiscopus."

[5] "In partibus infidelium."

Boniface was statesman and scholar as well as missionary, an able administrator as well as an earnest preacher; and his aim was to civilize as well as to Christianize the heathen of the fatherland. The sanction of the papal see was almost indispensable for the success of his efforts; for the helpless feebleness of the Merovingians and the strong self-assertion of the Carlovingians were alike unfavourable to the growth and development of the Church. Boniface was wise in seeing this. But he never allowed himself to be made a mere puppet in the hands of the popes; he appealed for guidance and direction in his perplexities to England as often as to Rome; he was not afraid even, if necessary, to expostulate reprovingly with the Pope himself.

The extent and multifariousness of his labours are amazing. Besides the more directly missionary work of journeyings and preachings beyond the right bank of the Rhine, there were monasteries of his own founding to be visited and superintended, councils, latterly one or more in a year, to be presided over, questions without end to be settled on points ranging from abstruse doctrine to small trivialities of ceremonial or of social propriety. His work was, also, embarrassed by many complications, by the controversies between the Roman Church and the Christians not in communion with it, between the Frank monarchy and the Gallican bishops, and by that which is the standing difficulty of missionaries, the difficulty of deciding when to allow, and when uncompromisingly to prohibit old heathen customs not altogether in accordance with Christianity, yet very deeply rooted in the hearts of the people. Among all these conflicting interests a firm hand and a discriminating eye were needed to hold the balance steadily. Boniface was a man who could say "No," and a strict disciplinarian; but his letters show the kindness and geniality of his nature, and the number of his devoted personal followers proves that he could win and retain men's hearts. And thus, which is indeed the surest test of true greatness, his work survived him.

In every department of it he left disciples willing and able to carry it on to completion. It is no exaggeration to say that, since the days of the great apostle of the Gentiles, no missionary of the Gospel has been more eminent in labours, in perils, in self-devotion, and in that tenacity yet elasticity of purpose, which never loses sight of its aim, even while compelled to approach it by some other route than that which it proposed to itself originally, than Winfried, known in the annals of Christendom as Boniface, "the apostle of Germany."

Boniface's letters are important in their bearing upon the history of his age, as well as on his own life: Epistolæ S. Bonifacii Mart. Prim. Mogunt. Archiep. German. Apost. etc., per Nic. Serarium, Soc. Jes. Presb. Mogunt. 1605. These were re-edited by Würdtwein, Mogunt. 1790. Dowling (*Notitia*, s. v.) and Cave (*Hist. Liter.* s. v.) attribute to him *Statuta Quædam S. Bonif. Archiep. Mogunt. et Mart.* (Dacherii *Spicilegium*). There are also sermons bearing his name (Martene et Durandus, *Ampliss. Collectio*, ix.; Pezii, *Thesaur. Anecdot.* ii.). The *Vita S. Livini* is assigned to him by Serarius, but this is disputed; Mabillon[1] assigns it to an older Boniface.

The earliest life of Boniface is the memoir of him by Willibald (not the nephew of Boniface, the bishop of Eichstädt), apparently a constant companion of Boniface, and an eye-witness of much which he relates. This was re-written with slight additions by Othlo, a German monk, in the eleventh century.

BENEDICT BISCOP.

Benedict Biscop, by birth an Englishman, became a Benedictine monk, when about thirty years of age, at Lerins, and founded the monastery of St. Peter's (A.D. 674) near the mouth of the Wear, in what was then the kingdom of Northumbria. This monastery became in the next century the centre of civilization to Northern England, and produced Bede.

The equally famous monastery of Jarrow was an offshoot from Wearmouth. In both the founder aimed at carrying into effect the Benedictine Rule in its integrity, as he had made it out by personal observation in his visits to seventeen monasteries on the continent. His own life was strictly consistent with the Rule. His sanctity, energy, and prudence, aided probably by the nobility of his descent, gave him great influence at the Northumbrian Court. He made five pilgrimages to Rome, mostly to bring back appliances for his monasteries; but, though a friend and companion of Wilfrid, he took no part in his ambitious schemes. Bede, his pupil from childhood, records his life fully.

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[1] *Ann.* O. S. B. XIV. vii.

[Abridged from a life of Benedictus Biscop by Bishop Stubbs in the Dictionary of Christian Biography.]

BENEDICT OF ANIANE.

THIS "second founder" of monasticism in Europe, or "second Benedict," as he has been called, was born in Languedoc (Occitania, Septimania) about the middle of the eighth century. His father Aigulfus, Count of Maguelone (Magalona, Magdalona), a cathedral city till the sixteenth century,[1] was cup-bearer in the Court of Pepin and his son, and is described as of Gothic extraction[1]; the Goths, according, to Mabillon,[2] having settled about Toulouse (Tolosa) early in the fifth century. Benedict was brought up to arms and courtly exercises, as a young nobleman of the time; but even then he cherished an idea of strict self-discipline,[3] which before long ripened into his taking the monastic vow. An accident which befell him was the immediate occasion. While serving in the army of the great Charles in Italy, about A.D. 774, he had a narrow escape from drowning, in saving his brother's life, in the river Ticino near Pavia.[4] He resolved, without his father's knowledge apparently, to become a monk, and by the advice of a blind old hermit, whom he consulted, betook himself to the monastery of St. Seine (Sequanus), in a forest of Burgundy, and there, after probation, was duly admitted.[5] It was then probably that he assumed the name of Benedict. Here he remained for the space of two years and a half, or according to another reading, five years and a half,[6] voluntarily taking upon himself the most menial offices.[7] But though the abbat showed his appreciation of the new brother, by appointing him cellarer or house-steward, an office almost next to his own, Benedict's austerities made him unpopular with the monks generally, who derided his emaciation and dirty habits, and resented his strictness. Indeed, Benedict at this period of his life seems, in the fervour of a convert, to have aimed too high; even disparaging the wisely tolerant Rule of his great namesake, as fit only for novices and weak brethren, and preferring the sterner Rule of the ascetics of the East.[1] However, his intense earnestness prevailed, and on the death of the abbat, the monks unanimously invited Benedict to be their head.[2] But he declined, being conscious of an incompatibility in spirit, and returning to his own native district, built a cell in the gorge of the stream Aniane (Anianus), for himself and one or two monks who accompanied him thither.[3]

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[1] Baillet *Vie des Saints.*

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[1] Ardo *Vita Bened. Anian.* iv.

[2] *AA. SS. O. S. B. Sæc.* IV. *ad loc.*

[3] *Vit.* v.

[4] *Vit.* vi.; cf. Mab. *ad loc.*

[5] *Vit.* vi.

[6] *Vit.* x. lviii.; cf. Mab. *ad loc.*

[7] *Vit.* vii.

From this insignificant beginning arose the monastery which Ardo, the biographer of Benedict, early in the ninth century, calls "the head, not only of the monasteries in Gothia, but of many others."[4] Before long many persons flocked to the spot, attracted by the fame of Benedict's sanctity; of these some went away disgusted by the scantiness of fare doled out,[5] others attached themselves to him. With their aid Benedict raised the walls of a small monastery, himself working with the rest. Everything was on a very simple scale, the only possession, at first, of the little brotherhood being an ass and some utensils for grinding their corn; their food chiefly bread and water, with milk supplied by the peasant women of the neighbourhood.[1] Even for divine service Benedict at this time declined the gift of anything costly, preferring to use vessels of wood, or of glass, such as were subsequently forbidden by a council near Maintz[2] (Moguntum), A.D. 895. Slaves he refused to accept, or at once set them free.[3] As was inevitable, the property of the monastery gradually increased; and the depredations of his lawless neighbours put Benedict's patience often to the test.[4] Still the work of the monastery went on and prospered. In the famine which visited those parts about A.D. 779, the monks gave relief freely,[5] and the example of their self-abnegation was contagious; other monastic communities sprang into existence all around.[6]

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[1] *Vit.* viii.

[2] *Vit.* x.

[3] *Vit.* x. xiv.

[4] *Vit.* xl. xxvii.

[5] *Vit.* xi.

A larger and statelier building was erected about A.D. 782, to accommodate 1000 monks, with all its appurtenances of proportionate grandeur.[7] To this were affiliated, as usual, numerous "cellæ" or priories, as dependencies, in the district. Benedict meantime was diligently acquiring books for the library of the monastery, and forming that collection of rules which he subsequently turned to good account in his reformation of the monastic system.[1] He welcomed to his monastery the visit of any monk eminent for piety, specially from Monte Casino, the head-quarters of Western Monachism, in order to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the various usages. His influence as a reformer began to make itself felt perceptibly. He formed classes[2] in his monastery, under competent teachers, for training monks and clergy in his rules; and these, his pupils, went forth as colonists to found new monasteries, or to resuscitate those in which the monastic spirit was dying away. He was frequently consulted, and from all quarters. The Archbishop of Lyons (Lugdunum) and the Bishop of Orleans sent to ask for some of his monks to aid in rebuilding monasteries in their dioceses.[3] Alcuin, then presiding over the great monastery of St. Martin at Tours[4] (Turonum), was his intimate correspondent. He was fortunate, too, in royal favour. Louis, at that time ruler of Aquitaine (Aquitania), a devoted patron of monachism, and his queen were his constant friends.[5] Benedict had placed his monastery under the royal jurisdiction, that it might be in no danger from the claims of his own relatives.[6] Louis proved himself worthy of this confidence. He enriched the monastery[7] largely, and gave Benedict authority, as visitor, to regulate all the monasteries in his kingdom. Benedict's munificence seems to have made him acceptable in this capacity.[1]

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[1] *Vit.* xii. xiii.

[2] *Ib.* xiv.; cf. Mab. *ad loc.*; cf. *Conc. Tribur.*

[3] *Ib.* xiv.

[4] *Ib.* xiii. xix.

[5] *Ib.* xvi.; cf. Mab. *ad loc.*

[6] *Ib.* xv.

[7] *Ib.* xxvi. xxxiv.; cf. Mab. *ad loc.*

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[1] *Ib.* xxvii.

[2] *Ib.* xxxvi.

[3] *Ib.* xxxvi.

[4] *Ib.* xxxvi.

[5] *Ib.* xliii. et pass.

[6] *Ib.* xxvii.

[7] *Ib.* xlv.; cf. Mab. *Obss. Præv. in Vit.*

Towards the close of the eighth century the heresy of the Adoptionists or Adoptians, who maintained that Christ is the Son of God by adoption only, made its way across the Pyrenees from Spain northwards. At the head of this party were Elipandus, archbishop of Toledo (Toletum), and Felix, bishop of Urgel (Urgella). Their teaching was condemned, as tending to Nestorianism, at the councils of Ratisbon, Frankfort, and Aachen.[2] Benedict's friend Alcuin wrote strenuously against the Adoptionists, and Benedict himself, by his reputation for sanctity and learning, was drawn into the controversy.[3] He was sent more than once into Spain on this business, and was present at the synod of Urgel.[4] But controversy was not his excellence;[5] the controversial writings attributed to him, and which, if his, owe their existence, perhaps, to this controversy, are the least important of his works.

The accession of Louis, on the death of his father, to the imperial throne, increased the influence of Benedict, and gave a wider scope to his energies as a reformer. The new Emperor at once invited his favourite counsellor to follow him to his new dominions, assigning for his residence a monastery near Saverne (Tabernæ), in Elsass (Alsatia), Maurum-Monasterium by name.[1] But this was inconveniently far from the Court, and leaving an abbat in his place at Maurum-Monasterium, he was soon induced to fix his residence in close proximity to Aachen, on the banks of the river Inde (Inda), where his imperial patron built for him the famous monastery, known subsequently as Cornelius-Münster, from the relics of Pope Cornelius deposited there.[2] Here Benedict continued on a larger scale the work commenced on the banks of the Aniane, collecting from every quarter materials for a thorough re-organization of the monastic system, prosecuting his enquiries in every direction, especially in regard to the observances of Monte Casino, and labouring to make his own monastery a model to all others.[3] He took an active part in the council held at Arles[4] in A.D. 813, at which various questions of ecclesiastical discipline were settled, and presided over the more important council at Aachen four years later.[5] Amid all his public duties Benedict found time to plead the cause of the poor and oppressed at Court, even at the cost of provoking against himself the hostility of the nobles.[1] But his imperial patron stood by him to the last.[2] Benedict closed his laborious and self-denying life in peace, full of years and full of honour, within the walls of his abbey, surrounded by his faithful monks, not a few of whom had followed him from the Aniane to the Inde (A.D. 821), having completed the three-score and ten years assigned to man by the Psalmist.[3] He was buried at Inda, and is commemorated on February 2nd.

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[1] *Vit.* xliii.

[2] *Concil. Ratispon.* A.D. 792. *Francofurt.* A.D. 794. *Aquis-gran.* A.D. 799.

[3] Alcuin *Epp. Prœv.* Lib. iv. *Contr. Elipand.*

[4] *Conc. Urgell.* A.D. 799; cf. Baluz *Not. ad Agobard.* ap. Mab. *Ad Vit.* xvii.

[5] Herzog *Real-Encyclop.* s.v.

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[1] *Vit.* xlvii. xlviii.

[2] *Vit.* xlviii.; cf. Herzog. s.v.

[3] *Vit.* l. liii.

[4] *Conc. Arelat. Vit.* xxxi.

[5] Mab. *AA. SS. O. S. B. Sæc.* IV.

Benedict's character strongly resembles that of the founder of Wesleyanism. In both there was the same methodical austerity, the same sombre earnestness, the same determination to regulate even the most trivial minutiæ.[5] In all these features Benedict of Aniane is much nearer to John Wesley than to his great namesake, Benedict of Nursia. It is no wonder that at first Benedict was no favourite at Court generally. The monks as a class resented his interference with their ease and laxity, the nobles his uncompromising resistance to their encroachments on monastic property.[6] But the single-mindedness of his aim bore down all opposition, and more than one of the Frank nobility, attracted by Benedict's teaching and example, renounced the world for a monk's cell, and became a munificent benefactor to the Order.[7] In later life Benedict grew more lenient to the infirmities of others, but he never spared himself; while his bodily strength permitted, he took his share with the brethren in mowing, reaping, etc.,[1] and he persisted to the last in his habits of rigid asceticism, denying himself all but the very poorest fare, and being continually in tears for his own sins and those of others. It was a character which could not fail to impress itself vividly, by the very force of contrast, on a lawless and licentious age.

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[1] *Vit.* xlix.

[2] *Ib.* xliii.

[3] *Ib.* lvii.

[4] Mab. *ad loc.*

[5] *Vit.* xxviii. et pass.

[6] *Ib.* xli.

[7] *Ib.* xlii. xlvi.

But, after all, Benedict's influence as a reformer of abuses was only transient. There was a want of elasticity, a stiffness and an angularity about his reforms, which unfitted them for general acceptance. Their success depended exclusively on himself; and he attempted to define precisely points which would have been more wisely left undefined, prescribing even, for example, whether or not the hood should hang down to the knees.[2] His task, indeed, as he proposed it to himself, was an impossibility. It was the first and last attempt ever made at a thorough and sweeping reformation of the whole monastic system, even in its minutest details, throughout the Carlovingian empire. Benedict of Aniane attempted for the Franks what the greater Benedict had done in Italy three centuries before; he failed comparatively, because he wanted the wise forbearance of his predecessor. "De minimis non curat lex." A reformation was urgently needed, but not on his plan.

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[1] *Vit.* xxxi.

[2] *Ib.* lii.

The Rules of Benedict and Columban had long contended for mastery in the monasteries of the Franks, sometimes existing side by side in the same monastery, until usually the milder code ousted its rival.[1] Sometimes various Rules were professed in the same monastery,[2] and this diversity of usages was made more glaring in the latter part of the eighth century by the intrusion of the canonical Rule into some regular monasteries.[3] Practically each monastic community was a law to itself, and in many cases great laxity of morals was the natural consequence of this vagueness and uncertainty of Rule. The facility of migrating from one monastery to another gave rise to frequent scandals.[4]

Benedict's great aim was to tighten the reins of discipline, to obliterate the inconsistencies of usage, to make the Nursian Rule sole and supreme everywhere, and to draw the line sharply between monks on the one hand, and canons and secular clergy on the other. In these his efforts he had to face the strong and active opposition of the party at the head of which stood the brothers Adalard and Wala.

Beside the danger from the want of coherence and organization among themselves, another danger threatened the monks from without. Not a few of the great

[1] Holsten *Præf.*, Bened. Anian. *Cod. Regul.*

[2] Mab. *Præf. Annal. O. S. B.* I. xviii.

[3] *Vit.*; cf Mab. *ad loc.*

[4] Mab. *Annal. O. S. B.* viii. xviii.; cf. *Reg. Bened.* lxi.

nobles seized the opportunity with avidity for enriching themselves from the monastic revenues. Benedict's influence with the crown was a great safeguard for the monasteries against the rapacity of their neighbours. Louis excused the monasteries generally from the imposition of oppressive services,[1] and relieved the smaller and less wealthy from all duty except that of praying for their sovereign.

The culminating point in this work of reformation was the great council at Aachen (A.D. 817). This was convoked by Louis at Benedict's suggestion. Benedict presided with Arnulf, an abbat from Anjou (Andecavi), appointed by the Emperor as vice-president,[2] and Benedict's was the guiding spirit which directed the deliberations of the abbats there assembled. So early as the sixth century the old Benedictine Rule had been formally sanctioned in the Gallic monasteries;[3] but profession in this instance was by no means tantamount to practice.[4]

Benedict and his colleagues set to work vigorously. More than seventy canons were enacted. The pre-eminence of the old Benedictine Rule was declared, and, in order to ensure complete uniformity, whatever had been left ambiguous by the founder was determined precisely—minutiae of dress, diet, divine service, etc. These regulations were enforced throughout his dominions by the Emperor's fiat, who also appointed visitors[1] to see them carried out fully. They were observed even in Italy, and incorporated at Monte Casino with the original ordinances.[2] But the effects of this peaceful revolution[3] were only for a time.

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[1] *Vit.* liv.

[2] Adjutor, Mab. *Ann. O. S. B. Sæc.* IV.

[3] *Concil. Matiscon.*

[4] *Concil. Turon.* III. A.D. 813.

Not many years elapsed after the death of Benedict, before his opponents regained the ascendency; and Odo of Clugny, Bernard of Citeaux, and the other monastic reformers of the mediæval period had to do the work over again in their several spheres. In one respect, however, the advantages resulting to the monastic life and to Europe generally from the labours of Benedict were more lasting. Even through the dark and turbulent ages which ensued, the monasteries were, as a rule, like the oasis in the desert, sheltered places for study and education amid the turmoil which raged around them.

Benedict's most important writings are (1) his *Codex Regularum;* a collection of various rules, (α) Eastern, (β) Western, for monks, nuns, and canons, with an appendix of treatises on the monastic life. *Codex Regularum Monast. et Canonic.*, etc. Juxta edit. Luc. Holsten. (Paris 1663) recusam August. Vindelicor. 1759, et a R. P. Mariano Brockie obss. crit. hist. illustratam. (2) *Concordia Regularum;* a digest or harmonized catena of these Rules under their respective headings. *Concordia Regularum*, ed. Hugo Menard (Paris 1638). The following minor treatises are ascribed to Benedict by Mabillon (*v. s.*). (1) *Testimoniorum Nubecula Benedicti Levitæ de Incarnatione Domini*, etc. (Baluz, *Misc. Sacr.* ii. 85). (2) *Disputat. Benedicti Levitæ adv. Felician. Impietat.* ib. (3) *Epistola Guarnario*, ib. (4) *Confessio Fidei Benedicti Levitæ*, ib. (5) *Excerptus divers. Mod. Pœnitent.* (Baluz, ii. 1385). (6) *Benedicti Abbatis Forma Fidei* (a "Summa Theologica"). (7) *Benedicti Libellus ex divers. Patr. Sentent.*, al. *Collectio ex Homiliis Patrum.*

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[1] "Inspectores," *Vit.* 1.

[2] Bulteau *Hist. de l'Ordre de S. Bénoist.* V. iv.

[3] Dantier *Les Monast. Bened.* ii. 18.

The *Nubecula, Disputatio*, and *Confessio* are attributed to Benedict on the hypothesis of his being only a deacon when they were written. Mabillon is inclined to identify Benedict of Aniane with an abbat Euticius, mentioned by Joannes Monachus in his *Life of Odo*, the famous Clugniac reformer, as "Founder of the Customs of Clugny," and explains that it was by no means unusual at that time for ecclesiastics to have an "ascititious" name, as well as the name by which they were known ordinarily.[1] The principal source of our information about the life of Benedict is the biography of him by Ardo or Smaragdus, one of his pupils. It is written sensibly, and in an agreeable style, and with every indication of being trustworthy. The greater part is the testimony of eye-witnesses (*e.g.* xxxi. xxxvi. xxxvii. etc.), and the miraculous element is less obtrusive than in most biographies of the kind.[1]

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[1] Mab. *AA. SS. O. S. B. Sæc.* IV.

CHRODEGANG.

THE name is spelt by mediæval writers with more than usual diversities; Chrodegangus, Chrodogangus, Chrotogangus, Grodegangus, Grodogangus, Ruggandus, Rotgandus, Rodegang, Rotigang.[2] The ruggedness of the sound from the abundance of dental consonants made the word particularly difficult of pronunciation to lips more accustomed to the smoother speech of the south. The materials of his biography are chiefly to be found in a notice of him by Paulus Diaconus, not very far from being a contemporary, and well qualified by his position to report faithfully, who seems to have undertaken his work about the bishops of Metz at the request of Angilramn, the immediate successor of Chrodegang in that see.[1] This memoir of Chrodegang, the only fault of which is that it is not longer, is repeated almost word for word, but with considerable additions, in a "Vita Chrodegangi," of which Pertz gives a minute account in a learned and exhaustive treatise read before the Royal Academy of Science at Berlin on July 8th 1852, and published among the transactions of the Academy.[2] In his collection of ancient German records, Pertz had already pronounced this life of Chrodegang inaccurate, especially in its dates, and generally unauthentic.[3] In his address at Berlin, investigating the work more closely, he comes to the conclusion, from internal evidence, that its date is A.D. 970, and its author most probably John, abbat of Gorze near Metz, one of Chrodegang's foundations.[4]

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[1] *S. Benedicti Anianensis Vita*, Auct. Ardone seu Smaragdo discip. ap. Mab. *AA. O. S. B. Sæc.* IV. i. Venet. 1733.

[2] Fabric. *Bibliotheca. Med.* et *Infim. Latinit.* Trithem. *Scr. Eccles.* Epitaph. ap. Mabill. *Analecta Nova.* Herzog *Real-Encyclop.*

According to Pertz, this life of Chrodegang appeared first, but in part only, in the work of the Magdeburg Centuriators,[5] in 1730 it was republished in its complete text by Eccard,[6] from a manuscript apparently transcribed in the twelfth century, and marked occasionally in the handwriting of Sigebert von Gemblours (Sigebertus Gemblacensis). It is not without interest as a specimen how legends and fables clustered, as it were inevitably, round the lives of great and good men under the hands of monastic biographers; but it adds little or nothing to our knowledge of Chrodegang. Abbat John dignifies his founder and benefactor with the title of "Confessor."

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[1] Cf. Paulus Warnefrid. *De Gestis Langobard.* vi. 16. ap. *AA. SS.* Mart. VI. 451.

[2] *Abhandlung über die Vit. Chrodeg. Ep. Mett.* Konigl. Akadem. der Wissenschaft, 1852.

[3] *Monum. Germ. Hist.* x. p. 552. Præf. *Vit. S. Chrodeg.*

[4] Cf. Wattenbach *Deutschland Geschichtsquellen;* Rettberg assigns an earlier date, *Kirchengesch. Deutschl.* I. ii. 87.

[5] VIII. x. 767.

[6] *Commentar. Rer. Franc. Orient.* I. App. 912.

Chrodegang's lot was cast in an eventful period of European history. He was not merely an eye-witness of the great changes, social, political, and religious, which were transforming Europe, but played a prominent part in them—the severance of the ties which bound Rome and Italy to the decaying empire of Byzantium, the safe emergence of the Papal See from the dangers with which the hostility of the Lombardic kingdom threatened it, the various preliminaries of conquest and of legislation, which paved the way for the extension and consolidation of the Frank dominion under Pepin's great successor, and for the welding together of Christendom under the joint sovereignty of Emperor and Pope. In his official capacity of keeper of the seal,[1] Chrodegang (as Pertz suggests) probably accompanied Charles Martel in his victorious campaign against the Saracens and the Frisii. His intimacy and his influence with Pepin, and with his sons, lasted apparently throughout his life without an interruption. As one of the foremost prelates in Europe and at the same time one of the most trusted counsellors of the Frankish king, Chrodegang exercised an influence almost unique at that time both in church and state. He is about the first of that long series of ecclesiastics holding high temporal office at Court, which terminated in Europe with the seventeenth century. Personally, as his career shows, and as his biographer describes him, Chrodegang was a man with much force of character, and with more than ordinary ability, a man of large munificence, of winning, gracious presence, and of ready speech, accomplished both in his native language and in the Latin which was fast becoming the language of educated men in all parts of Europe.[1] Chrodegang thus occupies a place in the history of Christendom, of which the importance has hardly been sufficiently appreciated.

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[1] Referendarius.

Chrodegang was born very early in the eighth century at Brabant (Hasbania).[2] He was of noble Frank family; his parents' names, in their Latinized forms, were Sigramnus and Landrada. The anonymous life of Chrodegang already mentioned, followed by Fabricius, makes Chrodegang son of a daughter of Charles Martel. But this is obviously one of the writer's exaggerations. Nothing to this effect is found in Paulus Diaconus, nor in the diplomas where the names occur of Chrodegang and Pepin, and where Pepin is simply styled "Chrodegangi Senior,"[1] and the difficulties of chronology which this supposition involves are insuperable.[2] That Chrodegang was of noble though not of royal blood, is attested by the foundation deed of the monastery of Lorsch, where he is styled kinsman of the founder and foundress, the son and widow of a count in one of the Rhine districts.[3]

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[1] "Decorus ac facundus in Latino et in patrio sermone." Paul. Diacon. v. s.

[2] Paul. Diacon. v. s. *AA. SS.* not. ad Mart. VI. The word is curiously miswritten by a mediæval chronicler "Hispania."

The story of Chrodegang having been educated in a monastery in the diocese of Liège[4] rests on no foundation.[5] Apparently, like other youths of his condition, he passed the early part of his life at Court, and was subsequently promoted by Charles Martel to the office of chancellor.[6] By the favour of Pepin he became bishop of the important see of Metz, retaining his civil office, A.D. 742.[7]

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[1] e.g. *Diplom. pro Fundat. Gorz. Mon.* quoted in Migne, *Bibl. Patr.* from Bréquigny *Diplomata* II.

[2] Pertz, v. s. *AA. SS.* v.s. Rettberg *Kirchengesch. Deutschl.* I. ii. § 87.

[3] Consanguineus, Rettberg, v. s.

[4] D'Achery imagines from the style of Chrodegang's Rule that he was trained in a Benedictine school; cf. Prolog. *Reg. Chrodegangi.*

[5] *AA. SS.* v. s.

[6] Referendarius, Paul. Diac. v. s.; cf. *Diplom. Karol. Monast. S. Dionys.* ap. *AA. SS.* Mart. VI.

[7] Paul. Diac. v. s. Fabric. v. s. gives the date 745.

In 752 Chrodegang was specially selected by Pepin and his nobles[1] for a very delicate and arduous embassy. It was a critical time for Pope Stephen II. (otherwise styled III.). Rome itself was menaced by the Lombards. In his distress the Pope looked eagerly beyond the Alps for succour,[2] and not in vain. From policy, or from motives of a less worldly kind, Pepin willingly answered the call, and the Bishop of Metz was despatched to Italy with one of Pepin's counts[3] to mediate, if possible, between the Pope and his invaders,[4] and if not, to bring the Pope to a safe refuge in Pepin's dominions.[5] Mediation was fruitless. But Chrodegang succeeded in extricating Stephen from any dangers which were to be apprehended to his own person, and in conducting him safely to the monastery of St. Denis at Paris. The Pope was not ungrateful to his advocate and escort. From his palace of exile he sent Chrodegang the archiepiscopal "pallium."[6]

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[1] "Singulariter electus a Pepin et omni cœtu Francorum." Paul. Diac. v. s.

[2] "Cunctorum vota anhelabant." *Ib.* v. s.

[3] "Autchardius dux."

[4] According to the Chronicle of Lorsch, Chrodegang was sent again to attempt negotiations with Astolph, just before Pepin's invasion of Lombardy, but ineffectually. *Chronicon. Lauresham* ap. *AA. SS.* v. s.

[5] Paul. Diac. v. s.

[6] Paul. Diac. v. s. Cf. *AA. SS.* where a foundation deed of the time of Pepin is cited, styling Chrodegang "archiepiscopus." Cf. Anastas. Biblioth. *Vita. Steph. P.* III.

Probably Chrodegang's services on this occasion were recalled some ten years later by Stephen's successor Paul I., when he conceded to Chrodegang, what was then considered a boon of priceless value, the relics of certain saints, Nabor, Gorgonius, and Nazarius, to enrich the monasteries which he had founded of Gorze, Lorsch, and St. Avold.[1] Some accounts add that Chrodegang fetched these precious treasures from Rome himself, and that an attempt was made one night by the monks of St. Maurice to rob him of them on his way home.[2]

Chrodegang's activity in these secular affairs by no means interfered with the vigorous discharge of more strictly ecclesiastical duties. In his own diocese he set himself to correct the laxity and worldliness of his clergy, and this was the primary cause and immediate occasion of his "Rule" for the clergy, which was soon to gain a much wider acceptance.[3] He endeavoured to induce the clergy to attend their synodical meetings regularly.[4] As archbishop and legate he consecrated many bishops, and ordained many priests and deacons.[5] It was probably at Chrodegang's instigation that a council, held A.D. 755 in Pepin's palace, enacted that ascetics must live either as cloistered monks, or under their bishops in canonical order.[1] He used liberally and wisely the great resources at his command. Content himself with a simple and unostentatious way of living, he bestowed alms on the poor largely, and to churches and monasteries his munificence was princely.[2] With the assistance of his royal master he built the choir and presbytery of the cathedral of St. Stephen in his own city, and embellished it richly; he was also a liberal benefactor to the cathedral of Verdun.[3] In the immediate neighbourhood of his cathedral he founded a clergy-house, which his biographer terms a "monasterium,"[4] using the word as was sometimes done, in its largest sense, where the clergy might live together in common, and endowed it with a revenue sufficient for their wants. The great monasteries, more strictly so called, bore witness to his zeal for organization, his lavish devotion, and his influence with the powerful and wealthy at Gorze, at Lorsch, and at St. Avold. Gorze,[5] about eight miles from Metz, which afterwards became famous for its schools, seems to have been endowed, in part at least, from the estates of the church, already mentioned, of St.

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[1] Hilaricum, Mab. *Ann.* VIII. xxvii.

[2] *Vita Chrodeg.* v. s. Cf. *Hist. Trans. S. Gorgonii*, ap. Mab. *AA. SS.* Sæc. III. ii. p. 207.

[3] *Regul. Chrodeg.* Præf.

[4] *Concil. Metens.* A.D. 753, iii.

[5] Paul. Diac. v. s.

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[1] *Concil. Vern.* xi.

[2] Epitaph. Chrodeg. ap. Fabric. v. s.

[3] *AA. SS.* v. s.

[4] "Aedificavit monasterium Sti Petri apostoli in parochiâ Sti Stephani in pago Mosellensi et ditavit. . . instar cœnobii intra claustrorum septa conversari fecit—Annonas vitæque subsidia sufficienter præbuit."—Paul. Diac. v. s.

[5] *AA. SS.* v. s.

Stephen at Metz, and, as a colony, to have inherited the designation of the parent church.[1] In the foundation deed, Pepin, one of the co-founders, appears as "major-domûs"; in the confirmation deed, of later date, as "rex." The monastery at Lorsch (Loreshamense), near Worms, was founded A.D. 764, by Cancro, or Cancor, a count apparently of the Rhine ("Rhenensis"), and his mother, Chillisuvindis. By their express desire the monastery was exempted from all other jurisdiction. Probably they feared, what was a not uncommon danger, the vexatious rapacity of the bishop. The monastery was subjected solely to the Archbishop of Metz, as being their kinsman.[2] Chrodegang appointed his brother Gundelandus first abbat, and transplanted thither some of his monks from Gorze.[3] The monastery of St. Hilary[4] in Chrodegang's own diocese, on the Saar, gave origin to the town of St. Avold.

Chrodegang's episcopate lasted rather more than twenty-three years. He died A.D. 764, two years before his royal patron and friend. In the previous year he presided at the council of Attigny-sur-Aisne.[5] He was interred in the monastery at Gorze, the greatest of his foundations.[1] His influence did not die with him. The attempt which he made to check the irregularities of the clergy, and to reform their morals, by imposing on them the strict discipline of the cloister, was renewed with characteristic energy, and with all the authority of his imperial sceptre, by Pepin's son,[2] himself probably in earlier manhood one of those who felt, personally, the influence of the statesman-bishop. Even so, though backed by all the weight of Charles the Great's authority, the attempt failed, because it was an attempt to impose on the clergy generally a rigid discipline, which they would not submit to, and which, had it become general, would have severed them too inexorably from the sympathies of their people. In the next century the attempt was renewed under the feebler sway of Louis, but, as was to be anticipated, without success. By the council[3] at Aachen (A.D. 817) the bishops and archbishops were ordered to extend the canonical discipline to all the priesthood. But, practically, the canons became a class by themselves; distinct from the secular clergy on the one hand, and from the monks on the other; and, practically, the very evils which Chrodegang strove to correct, were fostered by the very remedy which he devised. As the canons increased in wealth and honours, so, like the monastic cœnobites, they acquired an evil pre-eminence in luxury and worldliness.

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[1] "De rebus Sti Stephani. . . cum consensu omnium parium nostrorum, abbatum, Presbyterorum, diaconorum. . . et. . . laicorum in servitio Sti Stephani ecclesiæ ad cellam et ecclesiam Sti Stephani in Gorze."—*Diplom. pro Fundat. Gorziens. Monast.* v. s.

[2] "Tanquam consanguineo," *AA. SS.* v. s.

[3] *AA. SS.* v. s.

[4] More properly of St. Paul and subsequently of St. Nabor. Mab. *AA. O. S. B.* viii. 27.

[5] *Conc. Attiniac.* Labbe dates the Council 765, making Chrodegang's death a year later.

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[1] Paul. Diac. v. s.

[2] Milman *Hist. Lat. Christian.* III. 89.

[3] *Ib.* III. 118

It is interesting to compare Chrodegang with the almost contemporary "Apostle of Germany." In many ways they resembled one another, and their work was in many ways identical. In Boniface the politician is more lost in the saint, but in both there is the same combination of religion with practical sagacity. As Boniface extended the limits, at once of the Christian Church and of the Frank kingdom, among the heathen beyond the Rhine, so Chrodegang was welding and amalgamating church and state at home. As the great missionary, wherever his enterprises led him, went as the missionary of Rome as well as the missionary of the Gospel, so Chrodegang, in his more peaceful sphere of work, legislated in the same spirit of deference, if not of submission, to Rome, introducing Roman rites and ceremonies, the observance of the Ember seasons, and the Roman manner of singing in church, as part of the discipline which he was enforcing.[1] Both were essentially Teutonic in character and in aspirations; both found it necessary to subordinate the Teutonic element to the Latin; both found that, if they wished to organize permanently, they must avail themselves, in those days of turbulence and license, of the centralizing authority of Rome.

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[1] "Romanâ cantilenâ imbuit. Morem ac ordinem Romanæ ecclesiæ servare præcepit." Paul. Diac. v. s. Cf. H. Wharton *Auctarium ad Usserium de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis*, p. 358.

The missionary and the legislator seem never to have been brought into actual contact. An anonymous writer at Maintz in the tenth century[1] represents Boniface as protesting against Pope Stephen making Chrodegang bishop [archbishop] of Metz. Rettberg argues[2] not only that such a protest would be quite in accordance with all that we know of Boniface, but that the idea of inventing any such opposition to Rome would hardly occur to the mind of a monk in the tenth century. There is, however, no reference to anything of the kind in the letters of Boniface and Stephen. It would be interesting to know in what relation such men as Boniface and Chrodegang stood to each other personally. Chrodegang's famous Rule for the canonical clergy is extant in two forms. The longer Rule, consisting of 86 chapters,[3] appears to be an anonymous copy of the original Rule in 34 chapters, which was evidently intended by Chrodegang primarily, though not perhaps exclusively, for his own clergy. This longer form omits carefully the special references to Metz, and inserts[4] various precepts taken chiefly from the canons of the council of Aachen,[1] of more general application.[2]

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[1] *AA. SS.* Jun. V. *Supplem. ad Vit. S. Bonifac.* ii. 475.

[2] *Kirchengesch. Deutschland.* i. § 73, p. 413.

[3] D'Achery *Spicileg.* i. 565.

[4] "Non satis commode." Labbe *Obss. in Regul.*

Neither the thing itself which Chrodegang had in view, nor his name for it, were altogether new.[3] The idea of the clergy living together in common under the eye of their bishop dates back to the time of the great Augustine and Eusebius of Vercelli, and never became utterly extinct in the Church. The name "canonici," which Chrodegang preferred to "cœnobitæ," probably as more palatable to his clergy, was one of the most ancient designations of the clergy, either because they lived under special rules, or because their names were enrolled in the ecclesiastical register. In a similar sense, or, less probably, from the custom of reading aloud a chapter of Holy Scripture or of some other religious book on such occasions, the word "capitulum" was used before Chrodegang's time for a clerical conclave.

Chrodegang's aim was to revive the primitive discipline among the clergy. The result of his endeavours was, that the canonical clergy in their chapter-houses became distinct from the ordinary clergy in their several parishes. He adopted for his purpose the wise and temperate Rule of the great founder of Western monasticism even in many of its details. The same canonical hours for divine service are enjoined, and the word "claustrum" is retained for the clergy-house. Some changes were unavoidable. "Canonicus" is substituted for "monachus," the bishop stands in the place of the abbat, the archdeacon in place of the prior. Otherwise, there is a strong resemblance at first sight between the two Rules. But there are two fundamental differences. The canonici were bound neither by the vow of poverty, nor, in its monastic strictness, by the vow of implicit unquestioning obedience. Thus Chrodegang's Rule contained in itself at the same time the elements of future disintegration, and of the deterioration and demoralization which are the bane of all wealthy corporations. His Rule was formally enacted almost word for word, with sundry additions and without acknowledgment, by the council of Aachen already mentioned.[1]

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[1] Concil. Aquisgran. A.D. 817.

[2] Cf. Sigebert Gemblac. *De Scr. Eccles.* ap. Fabric. *Bibl. Eccl.*

[3] Cf. Muratori *De Canonicis. Antig. Ital. Med. Aevi.* V. 183 Thomains. *De Benef.* I. iii. 8.

But even so, though backed by the public and deliberate recognition of the Emperor and the nation, it failed to attain the end which its originators had in view. Chrodegang's Rule, properly so called, consists of thirty-four chapters, and was apparently intended by him for the clergy of his cathedral and another church in Metz.[2] In the preface Chrodegang censures the laxity of his clergy. His successor, Angilramn, in a postscript to the Rule,[3] allows a richer diet. The longer Rule, which, though bearing the name of Chrodegang and retaining his preface, is of rather later date, contains eighty-six chapters, and by the adaptation of its requirements to other places than Metz,[1] seems framed for the clergy generally. It contains a citation from the council of Aachen, A.D. 817, on diet; another from the same council on the education of boys, and another, from a council of Toledo, A.D. 633, on the discipline necessary for the younger clergy. Chrodegang, as has been stated, followed the Benedictine Rule.

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[1] "Ad mores clericorum reformandos," v. s.

[2] iv. v. xxiv.

[3] xx.

It is interesting to notice the points of difference. The officials of the monastery remain, but in some cases with new titles and new duties. The abbat, as we have seen, is replaced by the bishop, and the prior by the archdeacon; the door-keeper is sometimes called "portarius," sometimes by his old designation "ostiarius." The seven canonical hours for divine service remain. After "compline" silence and abstinence are enjoined as by Benedict;[2] it is added that no canon, outside the gates after that hour without the bishop's leave, is to be admitted. In the dormitory, the beds for the younger canons are to be arranged each between two beds of seniors, unless by a special order from the bishop.[3] Chrodegang omits the old Benedictine enactment,[4] that the monks should sleep in their habits and girded, but without knives; and another about the night-light burning in the dormitory appears only in the later form of Chrodegang's Rule.[1] Vigils are ordered to be sung soon after midnight; in Benedict's Rule the time is two A.M.[2] Canons, like the monks, are to be punctual to the moment at the sound of the bell, if within the precincts.[3] Manual labour for winter and summer is prescribed by Chrodegang, but less exactly than by Benedict.[4] Chrodegang defines winter as lasting from November 1st to Easter. There is a similar gradation of punishment in both Rules; the diet is less ascetic, but is defined more minutely. Benedict gave a general permission for wine to be taken moderately; Chrodegang fixes the quantity, allowing more to canons of higher rank.[5] Thus, a priest or deacon is allowed three glasses at dinner, two at supper; a subdeacon two at each meal; those of lower degree two glasses at the one meal, one glass at the other. But these two nice distinctions were abolished in the later Rule.[6]

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[1] vii. viii. xlviii. Cf. *Conc. Aquisgr.* A.D. 817, cxxi. *Conc. Tolet.* IV. A.D. 633, xxiii.

[2] iv.; cf. Bened. *Reg.* xlii.

[3] iii.

[4] Bened. *Reg.* xxii.

Benedict, to encourage a generous hospitality in his monks, sanctioned and enjoined the invitation of laymen to the refectory. Chrodegang, legislating not for monks in seclusion, but for clergy dwelling in populous places, forbids it, except by special order of the bishop or archdeacon.[1] He takes care, besides, to order the lay guests not to bring their weapons with them into the hall. They are not to be admitted into any other part of the buildings, but are to be dismissed courteously after dinner. There is no hospital, as in the monastery; more particular directions are given for the care of the sick.[2] In the eyes of Benedict all the brethren were on a footing of equality in hall and choir, except, of course, the abbat, the prior or provost, and the dean. The rest were ranged according to seniority, unless any were thought by the abbat worthy of special distinction. Chrodegang seats his canons according to rank at seven tables; the first is for the bishop, archdeacon, and guests; the next for priests, and the next in a descending scale. The clergy of the city not dwelling within the cloisters, are to dine in hall on festivals at a separate table, after having said their own masses.[3] Chrodegang requires them also, with the intention evidently of bringing them as far as possible under his canonical discipline, to be present on festivals at nocturns and matins, that is at the early service in the collegiate chapel. All the clergy, whether canons in the stricter sense or not, he orders to confess to their bishop, twice in the year at least, once in the beginning of Lent, and again between August and

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[1] xlix.; cf. *Reg. Bened.* xxii.

[2] v.; cf. *Reg. Bened.* viii.

[3] vi.; cf. *Reg. Bened.* l.

[4] ix.; cf. *Reg. Bened.* xlviii. lvii.

[5] xx. xxii. xxiii.; cf. *Reg. Bened.* xxxix. xl. xli.

[6] vii.; cf. *Conc. Aquisgr.* A.D. 817, cxxxv.

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[1] iii.; cf. *Reg. Bened.* liii. [2] xxviii.; cf. *Reg. Bened.* xxvi.

[3] "Clerici canonici qui extra claustra commanent," xxi.

November.[1] All the officials belonging to the several churches in the city or neighbourhood, whether or not residing together as canons, are to meet together at the cathedral twice every month for a roll-call and the distribution of a dole, twice yearly for confession. The bishop is to be present, or, in his absence, the "presbyter custos," corresponding to the English dean in our day of the cathedral.[2]

Throughout Chrodegang's system there is a recognition of rank on its own merits. Within the monastery all were brethren. Priest and layman, the noblest and the lowest in origin, the wealthiest and the poorest, the accomplished student and the rudest boor, all, as soon as they became monks, were by the very act equals, except so far as the monastic discipline placed some in authority, and made others subordinate to them. Chrodegang allows the distinction of the outer world to intrude within his walls. He excuses the higher clergy from their turns in the weekly routine of tasks; the lower orders of the ministry are to wear the cast-off clothes of their superiors, and are to be content with one suit a year;[3] they are to take the lower places in chapel and hall. If, besides, the absence of the implicit obedience vowed by the monk to his abbat is taken into account, none can wonder if lax and secular habits of life soon undermined the fabric which Chrodegang had erected so carefully.

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[1] xiv. [2] Cf. Ducange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v. Matricularii, Primicerus.

[3] "Sarciles," or "Consiles," xxix.

Chrodegang seems to have granted reluctantly what was a still wider departure from Benedict's Rule, and a still more fatal blow to the monastic discipline among his clergy, the right to retain property. It was a concession, in his eyes, to the degeneracy of his clergy from primitive and apostolic simplicity. Benedict made the skill and industry of the individual entirely subservient to the common good, by requiring every monk to hand over his earnings to the common fund. Chrodegang allowed a canon to keep for himself the fees and offerings which he received, unless they were expressly given for the community.[1] The real property of a canon was to pass after his death to his church and to the poor. But in both he was allowed a life-interest. Only he was exhorted to use this life income for the advantage of his community, and, if possible, to defray all his own expenses from it, so as not to be burdensome to the general fund. Even offenders were not to be mulcted of their possessions. It is easy to see how the wealth and luxuriousness of the great capitular bodies were the inevitable outgrowth of a Rule which was originally intended to revive a stricter and more frugal way of living among the clergy. Chrodegang is not the only great reformer whose labours have been followed by a reaction proportioned to the severity of the reformation.

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[1] xxxii. Cf. *Reg. Bened.* lvii.

APPENDIX A.

Benedictus Mediolanensis (Benedict of Milan) was a contemporary of Benedict of Aniane, and, like him on a smaller scale, was instrumental in the restoration of the old Nursian Rule. He was made abbat in A.D. 784 of the monastery of St. Ambrose at Milan, by Peter, archbishop of Milan, and founder of the monastery, and his appointment was confirmed by the Emperor.[1] The monastery stood by one of the six gates of the city, at each of which was a monastery with hospital attached to it.[2]

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[1] Mabill. *AA. S.S. O. S. B.* Sæc. IV.

[2] Bulteau *Hist. de l'Ordre de S. Bénoist*, v. 76.

APPENDIX B.

Benedictus Fossatensis (Benedict of St. Maur, abbat of the monastery of St. Maur des Fossez)[1] was one of the monastic reformers in the latter part of the eighth and commencement of the ninth century, and is sometimes confounded with his more famous namesake of Aniane. But Benedict of Aniane is never styled "Fossatensis," and died A.D. 821, whereas Benedict of St. Maur was alive A.D. 829 at the dedication of the church of the monastery of St. Vandrille.[2] The monastery over which he presided, called "des Fossez," or "de Saint Maur des Fossez," was the final resting-place of the relics of St. Maur, after frequent translations in order to escape the ravages of Norman marauders.[3] It must not be confounded with the monastery[4] "de Fosse" in the diocese of Maestricht, between the Meuse and the Sambre. Benedict took an active part in the reformation of the monastery of St. Vandrille,[5] near Rouen, founded about 648 A.D. by one of the great nobles of the Court of Dagobert.

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[1] Monasterium Fossatense.

[2] Monasterium Fontanellense. Mabill. *AA. S.S. O.S.B.* Sæc. IV.

[3] Bulteau *Hist. de l'Ordre de S. Bénoist*, v. 12.

[4] Monasterium Fossatense.

[5] Sti. Vandrigesilli.

[6] Bulteau *Hist. de l'Ordre de S. Bénoist*, iii. 23, v. 24.

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